

**UNIT 4****The American Civil War**

1848–1877

40-50-minute classes | 29-33 classes

**UNIT PREVIEW**

## Structure

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**Why Teach the American Civil War**

*“Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.”*

These famous opening lines from President Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg express why the Civil War was fought. Whether America, founded in liberty and equality, could long endure depended on whether the nation’s original contradiction, slavery, could be abolished while still preserving the country’s existence as a union. American students must know how the ideas at the heart of their country were undermined by slavery; but they must also learn how heroic Americans committed to America’s founding ideas made

great sacrifices and sometimes gave their lives, so that these ideas of liberty and equality might prevail over the dehumanizing tyranny of slavery. And students must learn that, like those in Lincoln's audience, it is up to each American to oppose tyranny and dehumanization to ensure that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

## Enduring Ideas from this Unit

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1. That slavery was the original contradiction in America, and that slavery is immoral, unjust, dehumanizing, and in violation of the inherent dignity and equal possession of natural rights of each person, as are any ways in which one person or group of people is favored over another due to the color of their skin.
2. That at its heart, the Civil War was fought over the issue of slavery: first, whether slavery would expand in America; next, whether it would be permitted at all; and last, whether the half of the country that opposed slavery would let the country be divided and the injustice to continue elsewhere, instead of fighting to preserve a union that would guarantee liberty and abolish slavery.
3. That President Abraham Lincoln exemplified American statesmanship as he piloted the nation toward fulfillment of its founding ideas, ended the barbarous and tyrannical institution of slavery, and nevertheless abided by the rule of law in doing so.
4. That the period of Reconstruction following the Civil War witnessed a realization of civil rights for freedmen, producing greater degrees of justice and equality that would nevertheless be challenged both during Reconstruction and in following decades.

## What Teachers Should Consider

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The American Civil War is one of the most important events in American history if only for its attempt to prove, with the blood of hundreds of thousands of Americans, that a people may freely govern themselves and organize themselves to preserve the liberty and equal natural rights of all.

Many students may not know that America was founded on these ideas. Fewer, perhaps, know that America even succeeded in proving these ideas true, striving to live up to them for twenty years, before such progress was eclipsed after Reconstruction. Although subsequent decades would manifest different kinds of failures to guarantee the equal protection of natural rights in certain parts of the country, the Civil War demonstrated that some statesmen and a considerable portion of Americans were committed to carrying out America's founding promise to the point of bloodshed.

Teachers will greatly benefit from studying not only the war itself but also the thoughts, words, and deeds of the statesman who conducted the war for the Union: President Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln's ideas and speeches, and his political actions, should constitute for students a model of prudence, both in the public arena and in their own lives. His understanding of the issue of slavery, not merely in the abstract but as it existed in America, can teach students much about their country and its history.

This unit should begin, therefore, with an understanding of slavery as it was found in America in 1848. The teacher should especially emphasize the changes in the status and practice of slavery since the founding in 1776. The teacher should also emphasize changes in legal and public opinion toward the institution since the Constitution went into effect in 1789. In brief, both had entrenched slavery instead of keeping it on the gradual path to extinction, where the founding generation had arguably placed it.

Abraham Lincoln saw these legal and public opinion shifts most clearly, and he saw that such changes struck directly at the ideas on which America was founded. In brief, his entire public career as well as the founding of the Republican Party were devoted to checking this change, to returning slavery to the path of extinction, and to fulfilling the founding ideas of constitutional self-government. Lincoln's arguments to these ends dominate the crescendo leading to war in spring of 1861. At its heart, this is what the Civil War was about.

The teacher will be able to enrich his or her students by cultivating their imaginations with the events, battles, and images of the Civil War, the bloodiest conflict in which Americans have ever been involved. Strategy, battles, and the general history of the war should be taught in detail. The teacher should learn and share accounts and images of the important moments and figures who contributed to Union victory in 1865. Meanwhile, Lincoln's careful yet effective maneuverings—both to preserve the Union and to seize the constitutional opportunity afforded him to emancipate the slaves—should be followed in detail.

The unit best concludes with a study of the period known as Reconstruction. Perhaps never in history was so much hoped for, achieved, and mismanaged in so short a period of time with respect to liberty and equality under the law. Students should learn to appreciate both the sacrifices of the Civil War and its immediate achievements during Reconstruction. Nevertheless, students should also learn about the emergence of different kinds of injustice, especially for African Americans living in the former rebel states: injustices that would be perpetuated for a century.

## How Teachers Can Learn More

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### TEXTS

*No Property in Man*, Sean Wilentz

*Battle Cry of Freedom*, James McPherson

*Abraham Lincoln*, Lord Charnwood

*Lincoln and the American Founding*, Lucas Morel

*The Essential Douglass: Selected Writings and Speeches*, Frederick Douglass

*The Columbian Orator*, ed. David Blight

*Crisis of the House Divided*, Harry Jaffa

*A New Birth of Freedom*, Harry Jaffa

*Reconstruction*, Allen Guelzo

*The American Heritage: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

*The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (ConstitutionReader.com)

## ONLINE COURSES | [Online.Hillsdale.edu](https://Online.Hillsdale.edu)

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*Constitution 101*

## Lesson Planning Resources

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### TEACHER RESOURCES

*Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay and John McBride  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, H.A. Guerber  
*A Short History of the Civil War*, James Stokesbury

### STUDENT RESOURCES

*Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, Wilfred McClay

### PRIMARY SOURCES

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, Frederick Douglass  
Peoria Speech on the Kansas–Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln  
“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln  
Fragment on the Constitution and Union, Abraham Lincoln  
First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln  
Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln  
Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln  
Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln  
13th Amendment  
14th Amendment  
15th Amendment  
Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

## **LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZZES**



# Lesson 1 — The Expansion of Slavery

1848–1854

6-7 classes

## LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how the defenders of slavery began to assert that slavery was a “positive good” that ought to be expanded throughout the country instead of an existing evil that should be contained and kept on the path to extinction.

## TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapters 19 and 20  
See below.

### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 156–162  
Pages 150–159  
Pages 157–162

### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*Constitution 101*

Lecture 9  
Lecture 3  
Lecture 6

## STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, chapters 19 (second half) and 20, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

**Assignment 2:** Students read and annotate excerpts from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

## CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

### Geography & Places

Mason–Dixon Line  
Mexico

California  
Kansas–Nebraska Territory

**Persons**

Henry Clay  
 John C. Calhoun  
 Abraham Lincoln  
 Zachary Taylor  
 Millard Fillmore  
 Frederick Douglass

Sojourner Truth  
 Harriet Beecher Stowe  
 Harriet Tubman  
 William Lloyd Garrison  
 Franklin Pierce  
 Stephen Douglas

**Terms and Topics**

“positive good”  
 King Cotton  
 antebellum  
 Gold Rush  
 secession  
 Compromise of 1850  
 Fugitive Slave Law  
 abolitionism

*Narrative of the Life of  
 Frederick Douglass*  
*Uncle Tom’s Cabin*  
 Underground Railroad  
 Kansas–Nebraska Act  
 popular sovereignty

**Primary Sources**

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, Frederick Douglass  
 Peoria speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln

**To Know by Heart**

“Knowledge makes a man unfit to be a slave.” — Frederick Douglass  
 “So you’re the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war.” — Abraham Lincoln to Harriet Beecher Stowe upon their meeting

**Timeline**

1846–48	Mexican–American War
1849	California Gold Rush
1850	Compromise of 1850
1854	Kansas–Nebraska Act

**Images**

Historical figures and events  
 Photographs and depictions of the life of slaves and the horrors of slavery  
 Maps of the free versus slave-state breakdown when changes occur  
 Pictures of first–edition copies of *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*  
 Statue of Frederick Douglass (on the Hillsdale College campus)  
 Copy of newspaper in which Lincoln’s Peoria speech was first printed



## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Abraham Lincoln prior to the Civil War
- Childhood biography of Abraham Lincoln
- Scenes from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
- Frederick Douglass's letter to his former master, Thomas Auld, 1848
- Actions of Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad
- Frederick Douglass's letter to Harriet Tubman, 1868

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What general prediction about the future of slavery did the Framers of the Constitution make?
- What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution went into effect, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
- What was life like for slaves in the South? What was a slave auction like?
- What was John C. Calhoun's idea that slavery was a "positive good"?
- How would Frederick Douglass have replied to John C. Calhoun's assertions?
- How did the idea of slavery as a "positive good" challenge the Constitution's stance on slavery and the path on which the Founding generation had set slavery?
- How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
- Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for southern states?
- What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Was it really a "compromise"? Why or why not?
- What were the various kinds of abolitionist activities engaged in by Northern abolitionists?
- What roles did Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Tubman, and Harriet Beecher Stowe play in the abolitionist movement?
- How did the Underground Railroad work?
- What did the Kansas-Nebraska Act do?
- What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Where did the idea come from and why?
- Question from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

The status of slavery in 1848 was markedly different than it was when the Founders crafted the Constitution in 1787. The gradual decline in the profitability of slavery, evident during the founding, was forecast to continue—but this trend reversed direction upon the invention of the cotton gin in 1793. From then on, the demand for slave labor in the Southern states rapidly compounded. But the free population in the South was vastly outstripped by the burgeoning population of the North. If nothing changed, demographics and geography would eventually give Americans living in the North the power to limit slavery through law and perhaps even abolish it entirely through a constitutional amendment. Slaveholders in the South needed to change this trajectory by expanding slavery westward into the territories. Students need to understand that

to justify such expansion, slavery advocates in the South had to change the opinion of Northerners: either to believe slavery to be morally beneficial or, at the very least, to view slavery as merely another option to be decided by the majority, what Stephen Douglas called “popular sovereignty.” Moral relativism, the idea that “might makes right,” and a belief in unfettered democracy through the vote of the majority were the slaveholders’ pillars in arguing to preserve slavery. Students should understand that Abraham Lincoln favored government “of the people, by the people, and for the people” but also saw how popular sovereignty’s neutrality concerning slavery violated both equality and consent, as well as liberty itself. Lincoln went about waging an oratorical war in defense of objective standards of truth and justice, of good and evil. They should also learn how abolitionists, of both African and European descent, continued to publicize the horrors of slavery for Americans in Northern states far removed from witnessing slavery firsthand. Abolitionists also shepherded escaped slaves to freedom in the Northern states and Canada.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Expansion of Slavery with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the status of slavery over the initial decades of the country’s history. At the founding, slavery was generally either openly condemned by those in the North or defended by those in the South. Its toleration by northern delegates and others who were opposed to slavery at the time of the founding was for the sake of a unity that even many abolitionists believed was the only eventual path toward abolition. The Declaration of Independence established the country on principles of equality that could and would be cited to demand the end of slavery, the Northwest Ordinance had prohibited the expansion of slavery, the Constitution refused to give legal standing to the institution, and many states had restricted or abolished slavery outright. Lastly, many leading Founders, including those who held slaves, believed that the profitability of slavery was gradually but decisively waning and that slavery would die out on its own in a relatively short period of time. However, the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney four years after the adoption of the Constitution greatly increased the profitability of slavery in the cotton-growing states of the South and thereby create a significant (and regional) interest in perpetuating the institution of slavery. The new economics of slavery that would grow out of the cotton gin and the vast cotton industry questioned the assumption and changed the projection of the founding generation concerning the viability and eventual demise of slavery.
- Help students to imagine and understand the dehumanizing and brutal tyranny of slavery. Although students should understand that the ways in which various slaveholders treated their slaves varied, from the downright barbaric to more familial—in order to see how many slavery apologists tried to justify slavery—they must nevertheless understand that the sheer fact that some people owned other human beings is and always will be morally reprehensible. Moreover, as Frederick Douglass argued, slavery actually dehumanized the master as well as the slave.
- Teach students that despite this attempted defense of slavery, the institution almost certainly weakened the South as a whole while supporting the lifestyle of the elite few. For all other Southerners, slavery depreciated the value and wages of labor by non-slaves, limited innovation, and thwarted economic development in the South. The Civil War would reveal the weakness of the position in which Southerners’ insistence on slavery had placed them.
- Likewise, consider with students the contributions to America’s tremendous wealth and prosperity throughout its history. There were the Southern plantation owners and many businesses and individuals in the North who profited handsomely from slavery, even as the degree of prosperity generated by slavery was dwarfed by other factors. These factors included Americans’ unprecedented freedom to innovate and invest, the ability to patent ideas and

inventions, the protection of private property rights, and above all the productive work of citizens within a free marketplace governed by the rule of law and consent of the governed. The great achievements of individual families through the Homestead Act of 1862 demonstrates the point, both for immigrants to America and for the freedmen who would also take advantage of such freedom and opportunity after the Civil War. In brief, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are the catalysts for allowing human beings to unleash the most prosperous and technologically advanced economy in history. A simple comparison of the Northern to the Southern economy, infrastructure, and society before and during the Civil War illustrates the case.

- Teach students how the slavery issue nearly resulted in civil war over the question of expanding slavery into the territories acquired from Mexico after the Mexican-American War, brought to a head when California, after a population surge during the California Gold Rush, applied to become a state without slavery. California's lone admission as a free state would have increased Northern power in Congress and the Electoral College against Southern states on the issue of slavery.
- Spend some time discussing the Compromise of 1850, which was not really a "compromise" in the real sense of the word. A "compromise" would involve all parties sacrificing something of their position to achieve a common outcome. The Compromise of 1850, however, was not one bill but five separate bills that had five separate lines of voting. Students should understand what each of these acts did, especially the Fugitive Slave Law. This orchestration begun by Henry Clay but completed by Stephen Douglas may have avoided war in the short term, but it only deepened and delayed the divisions tearing at the country over the next ten years.
- Ask students about the effects of the Fugitive Slave Law, which compelled Northerners to assist in capturing escaped slaves and encouraged the practice of abducting free African Americans living in the North and forcing them into slavery.
- Teach students about the various parts of the abolitionist movement and its major figures. Students should learn that there was great diversity among abolitionists, especially in their underlying views about America's governing principles and the best way to abolish slavery. For instance, William Lloyd Garrison actually agreed with the slaveholder reading of the Constitution while Frederick Douglass moved from this view to that of Abraham Lincoln that the Constitution was pro-freedom. One might read aloud with students some portions of Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and discuss Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, important works in making Northerners, most of whom had never seen slavery in practice, aware of its moral evil. Other abolitionists, such as Harriet Tubman and those running the Underground Railroad, heroically worked to lead escaped slaves to freedom. In general, most abolitionists appealed to the principles of equality stated in the Declaration of Independence in justifying their cause.
- Tell students the childhood and political biography of Abraham Lincoln, to show how he rose from poverty and obscurity to become arguably America's greatest president.
- Consider having students learn what the Kansas-Nebraska Act did. Focus specifically on the idea of popular sovereignty as used by Stephen Douglas, and the idea that right and wrong amount to the mere will of the majority opinion, which happens to be what many people today believe constitutes truth and the moral rightness of political decisions.
- Have students read and answer guiding questions on parts of Lincoln's speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act in response to the act of this name. Students should understand that Lincoln saw slavery to be, above all, a moral question, and one that every American ought to take seriously as

such. Lincoln also believed that moral relativism over the question of slavery, as conveyed in the idea of popular sovereignty, was antithetical to the ideas of the Declaration of Independence, and that slavery was simply a form of majority tyranny, the very danger latent in democracy that the Founders had warned against. Finally, Lincoln condemned the Kansas-Nebraska Act as achieving a complete reversal of the stance the Constitution, the Northwest Ordinance, and the founding generation had toward slavery: that it should be contained until it was abolished and by no means allowed to spread.

### **STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS**

**Assignment 1:** Explain how the expansion of slavery became a major political issue following the Mexican–American War (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Retell the biography of one of the following: Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, or Abraham Lincoln (2–3 paragraphs).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Civil War | Lesson 1  
*Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Chapters 19 and 20

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. The acquisition of western lands following the war with Mexico and the discovery of gold in which present-day state brought the issue of slavery's expansion to a head in the late 1840s?
2. What was the name of the compromise bill regarding the expansion of slavery that Congress passed in 1850?
3. What happened in the Kansas Territory following the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
4. Which party was created to oppose the expansion of slavery into the territories?
5. Who reentered politics in order to oppose Stephen Douglas' idea of letting voters decide about expanding slavery in the territories?

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Unit 4 — Formative Quiz 1

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Covering Lesson 1  
10-15 minutes

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution was adopted, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
2. What was John C. Calhoun's idea that slavery was a "positive good"?
3. What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Was it really a "compromise"? Why or why not?
4. How did the Underground Railroad work?
5. What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Where did the idea come from and why?

## Lesson 2 — Toward Civil War

1854–1861

6-7 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how Abraham Lincoln and the new Republican Party’s opposition to the expansion of slavery led Southern states to secede from the Union, resulting in civil war.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapter 20  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 162–173  
Pages 160–169  
Pages 163–181

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*Constitution 101*

Lecture 9  
Lecture 3  
Lecture 6

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read and annotate Lincoln’s “House Divided” speech and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

**Assignment 2:** Students read and annotate Lincoln’s First inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Kansas–Nebraska Territory  
Harpers Ferry

Fort Sumter

#### Persons

Abraham Lincoln  
Frederick Douglass  
Franklin Pierce

Stephen Douglas  
James Buchanan  
John Brown

**Terms and Topics**

Kansas–Nebraska Act	Lincoln–Douglas Debates
Bleeding Kansas	objective truth
a house divided	“don’t care,” “I care not”
popular sovereignty	moral relativism
Democratic Party	majority tyranny
Republican Party	”apple and frame” metaphor
<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>	Wilberforce University

**Primary Sources**

“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln  
 “Fragment on the Constitution and Union,” Abraham Lincoln  
 First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

**To Know by Heart**

“A house divided against itself cannot stand.” — Abraham Lincoln, paraphrasing from the words of Jesus of Nazareth in the Bible

**Timeline**

1854	Kansas–Nebraska Act; Republican Party founded
1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter

**Images**

Historical figures and events  
 Depictions of the Lincoln–Douglas Debates  
 Campaign materials  
 Map of the 1860 election results  
 Fort Sumter

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

- The breakdown of civil dialogue resulting in Preston Brooks’s attack on Charles Sumner
- What the Lincoln–Douglas Debates were like in terms of setting, format, length, etc., especially compared to civil dialogue and debate today
- The scenes at the nominating conventions for each party in 1860
- John Brown’s letter to his pastor, 1859, and last words before execution
- The young girl who suggested to Abraham Lincoln that he grow a beard
- The first shots fired on Fort Sumter and its surrender



## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What was Bleeding Kansas, what was it like, and why did it happen?
- According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney’s majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* threaten to make slavery legal anywhere in the union?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that Stephen Douglas’s personal stance of how he does not care (“I care not”) how a state or territory votes on slavery is dangerous and indefensible? How was this connected to Lincoln’s predictions regarding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln believe popular sovereignty without an argument on the morality of slavery amounted to majority tyranny?
- What question and answer did Abraham Lincoln consider to be the solution to the issue of the expansion of slavery?
- Why did Lincoln see the question of the morality of slavery to be at the heart of America’s founding?
- How did Abraham Lincoln end up winning the 1860 election?
- Explain Abraham Lincoln’s arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his “apple of gold, frame of silver” metaphor.
- How did Abraham Lincoln navigate the period between his election and the first shots at Fort Sumter? How did the country descend into war during this period?
- How was slavery the true cause of the Civil War?
- What was the Southern states’ argument for the constitutionality of secession?
- What was Abraham Lincoln’s argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his First inaugural address?
- What was important about Virginia’s decision to secede? How did it come about?
- What were Abraham Lincoln’s goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
- Why and how did Abraham Lincoln need to keep the Border States in the Union?
- Question from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 94: Abraham Lincoln is famous for many things. Name one.

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 sparked the little-known Abraham Lincoln to redouble his efforts to engage in the growing national debate over slavery in America. He saw a tremendous threat in the argument put forward by the bill’s sponsor, Stephen Douglas, that slavery was not a moral question but rather one that should simply be decided by the will of the majority. From 1854 to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Lincoln would combat the idea that the morality of slavery was to be determined merely by majority opinion. Students should come to see this arc to Lincoln’s words and deeds. They should understand how he took up and articulated the heart of the matter regarding the morality of slavery and that slavery struck at America’s founding idea that all men are created equal. Roger Taney’s majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* interpreted the Constitution to legitimize slavery, and Lincoln argued against both popular sovereignty and Taney’s position throughout his debates with Douglas. The moral question regarding slavery, manifesting itself in the practical questions of the expansion of slavery, is what a civil war would be fought over. After all, the formal move to secession—a constitutionally debatable claim also at issue in the approach to war—and the war itself was triggered in response to Lincoln being elected president on the position that slavery was wrong and should not be expanded.

Teachers might best plan and teach Toward Civil War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Emphasize the breakdown in civil dialogue in the several violent episodes related to slavery preceding the Civil War: Bleeding Kansas, Preston Brooks's attack on Charles Sumner, and John Brown's raid on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry. Go into some detail to bring these events alive for students. For example, it was Colonel Robert E. Lee who led federal troops to put down Brown's uprising.
- Clarify the party alignment that was emerging in 1854. The Democratic Party was dividing between those who favored the principle of "popular sovereignty," in which a state or territory could vote to allow slavery or not, and those who explicitly favored slavery. Meanwhile, the Republican Party was founded in 1854 in opposition to laws encouraging the spread of slavery. The split of the Democratic Party and the consolidation of the Republican Party in 1860 assured the election of Lincoln and significantly contributed to the coming of the Civil War.
- Consider Abraham Lincoln's arguments against Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that asserted that slaves are not humans but only property, and that the Constitution protects their enslavement just as it does any other property. Lincoln points out that Taney's ruling rejected the Founders' view on slavery and would lead, in tandem with Stephen Douglas's popular sovereignty, to the spread of slavery throughout the country. By extension, this reasoning would also allow for other forms of majority tyranny.
- Help students think through Lincoln's understanding of the morality of slavery and its relationship to the founding ideas of America: that all men are created equal, have unalienable rights, and that legitimate government is based on the consent of the governed. Students should see that the practical question regarding the expansion of slavery ultimately turned on the moral status of slavery.
- Teach students about the arguments in the Seventh Lincoln-Douglas Debate and discuss them alongside Lincoln's "House Divided" speech in class. Consider the apparently benign stance that Stephen Douglas takes in his position of popular sovereignty, that he does not care about what a group of people does regarding slavery, so long as the majority opinion decides it. Students should be asked why this is problematic.
- Present the settings and atmosphere of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates as imaginatively as possible.
- Help students to understand the various pressures that were mounting on the Southern states during the 1850s, from increased abolitionist activities to the sheer industrial might of the Northern states to a burgeoning plantation debt as other countries produced more cotton and the price of cotton fell as a result.
- Tell students the stories of Lincoln's speeches and his reception during these years, including the founding of the Republican Party and the various conventions in 1856 and especially 1860. Students should sense the drama of the times.
- Have students read Abraham Lincoln's "Fragment on the Constitution and Union." Help students understand the arguments with respect to the American founding and slavery.
- Provide a clear overview of events between Lincoln's election and South Carolina's attack on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. Students should learn both Lincoln and the South's accounts of what happened.
- There were, of course, other factors and dimensions that impelled each side to fight the Civil War. Students should be familiar with these, as well as the view of most Southerners that the war was about defending what they saw as the rights of their states. This view and Lincoln's counterview and incumbent duty to preserve the Union and Constitution may have been the

occasion for the Civil War, but students should understand that the war was, at its heart, fought over whether slavery would be permitted to spread and so remain indefinitely, or be restricted and returned to the path to extinction on which the founding generation had left it. This question was, in turn, based on the morality of slavery, which Abraham Lincoln would later maintain in his Gettysburg Address was a question about the rejection or fulfillment of the ideas on which America was founded.

### **STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS**

**Assignment 1:** Explain how Abraham Lincoln believed Americans must defend the principles of America by preventing the spread of slavery (1 paragraph).

**Assignment 2:** Retell the story of how Abraham Lincoln successfully became president and how this led to the outbreak of the Civil War (1–2 paragraphs).

## Lesson 3 — The Civil War

1861–1865

9-10 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the major figures, common soldiers, strategy, and specific battles of the American Civil War, including a close study of the statesmanship of President Abraham Lincoln.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapters 21 and 22  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Short History of the Civil War*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 173–189  
Pages 170–195  
As helpful  
Pages 179–187

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Constitution 101*

Lecture 10  
Lecture 7

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, chapter 21, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

**Assignment 2:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, chapter 22, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

**Assignment 3:** Students read and annotate Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Second inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Fort Sumter  
Union

Confederacy  
Richmond

West Virginia  
Border States

Appomattox Court House  
Ford's Theatre

**Persons**

Abraham Lincoln  
Jefferson Davis  
Robert E. Lee  
George McClellan  
Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson  
Clara Barton

Ulysses S. Grant  
William Tecumseh Sherman  
Martin Delany  
Robert Gould Shaw  
John Wilkes Booth

**Terms and Topics**

secession  
"states' rights"  
Confederate States of America  
railroads  
minié ball  
Army of the Potomac  
Army of Northern Virginia  
American Red Cross  
Anaconda Plan  
Battle of First Manassas/Bull Run  
ironclads  
USS *Monitor*\*  
CSS *Virginia*

trench warfare  
Peninsula Campaign  
abolition  
Battle of Antietam  
Battle of Fort Wagner  
Battle of Vicksburg  
Battle of Gettysburg  
Pickett's Charge  
54th Massachusetts Regiment  
Peace Democrats  
scorched earth warfare  
Sherman's "March to the Sea"  
Siege of Richmond

**Primary Sources**

Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln  
Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln  
Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

**To Know by Heart**

"Battle Hymn of the Republic," first stanza — Julia Ward Howe  
Gettysburg Address — Abraham Lincoln  
"So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." — William Tecumseh Sherman telegram announcing the fall of Atlanta to Abraham Lincoln  
"O Captain! My Captain!" — Walt Whitman

\*A previous version referred to the USS *Merrimack* instead of the USS *Monitor*.

**Timeline**

1860	Abraham Lincoln elected; South Carolina and six states secede
1861–65	Civil War
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter
September 22, 1862	Abraham Lincoln announces the Emancipation Proclamation
1863	Emancipation Proclamation takes effect
July 1–3, 1863	Battle of Gettysburg
1864 (Fall)	Fall of Atlanta
1864	Abraham Lincoln reelected
April 9, 1865	Robert E. Lee surrenders at Appomattox
April 14–15, 1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president

**Images**

Historical figures and events  
 Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson  
 Soldier uniforms, weaponry, flags  
 Depictions and photographs of figures at various scenes and moments and in battle  
 Maps: overall strategies, specific battles  
 Relevant forts  
 Battle scene depictions and photographs  
 Medical equipment  
 Reenactment photos  
 Pictures of the Emancipation Proclamation, Gettysburg Address, etc.  
 Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment Memorial  
 Lincoln Memorial  
 Statue of Abraham Lincoln (Hillsdale College campus)

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

- Biographies and roles of Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman in the Civil War
- Robert E. Lee's denial of Abraham Lincoln's offer to command the Union forces
- How Stonewall Jackson got his nickname
- Battle of the ironclads
- William Child's letter to his wife after the Battle of Antietam, 1862
- Clara Barton's letter to her cousin, Vira, December 1862
- The killing of Stonewall Jackson by friendly fire
- John Burrill's letter from Gettysburg to his fiancée, Ell, 1863
- Fighting at Little Round Top and Pickett's Charge
- George Pickett's letter from Gettysburg to his fiancée, La Salle Corbell, 1863
- The writing and delivery of the Gettysburg Address
- Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House
- Robert E. Lee's Farewell Address to his Army, General Order No. 9, 1865

- Abraham Lincoln’s cabinet meeting regarding healing with the South just hours before his assassination
- Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford’s Theatre and subsequent hunt for John Wilkes Booth
- Abraham Lincoln’s funeral train

### QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?
- What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- How did each of the following battles begin, what happened in them, and what was their significance: Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Sherman’s March to the Sea?
- What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union’s generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg in the Virginia and Maryland theater of war?
- How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
- What was General Lee’s strategic purpose for taking the war north, into Pennsylvania?
- In summary, what did Abraham Lincoln argue in the Gettysburg Address?
- Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?
- What were the most significant moments in the Civil War?
- What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?
- What were Abraham Lincoln’s plans for reconstruction following the Civil War, as outlined in his Second Inaugural Address and from what we know of his private meetings in the war’s final weeks?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 92: Name the U.S. war between the North and the South.
  - Question 93: The Civil War had many important events. Name one.
  - Question 94: Abraham Lincoln is famous for many things. Name one.
  - Question 95: What did the Emancipation Proclamation do?
  - Question 96: What U.S. war ended slavery?

### KEYS TO THE LESSON

The American Civil War may be the defining event in American history. The outcome of the Civil War determined whether the nation would live according to the principles of liberty, equality under law, and self-government, or reject those truths in favor of slavery, inequality, and tyrannical rule. Students should appreciate this about the bloodiest conflict in their nation’s history. They should also know the stories of the heroic actions both leaders and of ordinary citizens in that war, understand the strategies employed in general and in specific battles, and consider the key moments and factors that led the Union to ultimate victory. Additionally, students have an unmatched opportunity to understand statesmanship through the careful study of Abraham Lincoln’s thoughts, speeches, and actions as he led the nation through the Civil War.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Civil War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the arguments by the South and by Abraham Lincoln regarding the idea of “states’ rights” and the constitutionality of secession, particularly by reading and discussing Abraham Lincoln’s first inaugural address. Students should understand that there is no such thing as a “state right,” since rights belong only to persons. States (as governments) possess powers (not rights), as outlined in their state and in the federal Constitution, which the states are to use to protect the rights and the common good of their citizens (including from encroachment by the federal government by appealing to the Constitution itself). Lincoln’s first inaugural address presents the case for how secession is unconstitutional and how he, having taken an oath in his office as president, can and must preserve the Constitution and Union.
- Help students to see how the decision by Southern states to secede was largely determined by a small elite or even merely by governors. In Virginia, for example, the governor himself made the decision to secede without consulting the legislature. Moreover, insofar as slavery was the chief interest the South wanted to preserve, only a minority of Southerners owned slaves and even a smaller minority owned a large number of slaves on plantations. The majority of Southerners were not slaveholders and while fighting for their states would preserve slavery, many common Southerners fought for the argument of states’ rights rather than to preserve the institution of slavery.
- Emphasize that the governing state known as the Confederacy was founded on the rejection of the principle of equality from the Declaration of Independence, and on an argument of the inequality of races, as asserted in Alexander Stephens’s “Cornerstone Speech.”
- Teach students about the delicacy with which Abraham Lincoln had to approach the border states (slave states that remained in the Union) and why this delicacy was needed. Have students work with Lincoln’s first inaugural address, one purpose of which was to keep wavering states in the Union.
- Explain that Abraham Lincoln’s first goal in fighting the Civil War was to preserve the Union. It is important that students understand Lincoln’s reasoning. He was against slavery and wanted it abolished, but his constitutional obligation was to preserve the Union. If he acted otherwise, he would violate the Constitution and the rule of law, becoming no better than the seceding states and forfeiting his moral authority as the defender of the rule of law. Students should also know that while Lincoln did not believe he could abolish slavery alone or that abolishing slavery was the purpose for fighting the war, he nonetheless believed, like many of the Founders, that the only way to abolish slavery would be if the Union were preserved.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had at the outset of the war and how these shifted during the war. Having students take simple notes, as a “T-Chart” can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Build students’ familiarity with the style of warfare in the mid-19th century, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Present to students explanations of each side’s strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Of special note are the Union’s Anaconda Plan, James Longstreet’s development of trench warfare, the Mississippi theater of war and the siege and battle of Vicksburg, and Robert E. Lee’s strategy preceding Gettysburg, among others.



- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war, especially Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, George McClellan, George Meade, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman.
- Share with students the unity found within the Union ranks in the cause of the United States and eventually the abolition of slavery. 1.3 million Union men of European ancestry fought in the Civil War and 180,000 African American men volunteered for the Union forces, making up nearly 10 percent of the Union army. Of all Union soldiers, 600,000 were wounded and approximately 360,000 Union men were killed.
- Teach the war, especially the major battles and military campaigns, in some detail. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often and have students track battles and campaigns. *A Short History of the Civil War* is a great aid for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of these battles from this work, too.
- Help students to note the major themes running through the early years of the war, namely how Confederate commanders carried the day repeatedly despite the North's growing advantages, and how they exhibited military leadership and decisiveness. Students should also appreciate how unpopular Abraham Lincoln was in the North during much of the war.
- Have students come to know Abraham Lincoln, in his personal life, interior thoughts and troubles, and his great love for his country. Students should also engage frequently with the reasoning and decision-making that marks Lincoln as being perhaps the greatest statesman in American history.
- Based on his writings, words, and deeds, show students how Abraham Lincoln always believed in the equal human dignity of African Americans and grew over the course of his career to see that African Americans were equal socially as well, a growth in understanding that he knew more Americans would need to develop in order for African Americans to be treated truly as equals. As his own experience showed, he believed this would take some time, particularly in slave-holding states.
- Note that Congress (with the support of Lincoln) outlawed slavery in Washington, DC, in 1862, an action made numerically possible with the absence of Southern congressmen.
- Read aloud in class the Emancipation Proclamation and teach students the technicalities Abraham Lincoln navigated in thinking of it, drawing it up, and the timing of its promulgation. He had to retain the border states, abide by the Constitution, achieve victory, and earn the support of public opinion in order for slaves to be effectively freed—and he did it all. Students should understand that Lincoln's justification for freeing the slaves involved exercising his executive powers as commander-in-chief of the armed forces during an armed rebellion. This is why Lincoln only had the authority to apply the Emancipation Proclamation to those states in actual rebellion, why it could not be applied to slave-holding border states not in rebellion, and why he knew that after the war, an amendment to the Constitution would be necessary to bring emancipation to all the states and make it permanent.
- Have students read and hold a seminar conversation on the Gettysburg Address. It is a magnificent work of oratory, but it also gets at the heart of the American founding and the ideas that maintain the United States. It also shows the importance of defending and advancing those ideas, both in the Civil War and in our own day, as is incumbent on every American citizen. Questions on page 187 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.

- Note the importance of Abraham Lincoln’s choice of Ulysses S. Grant as General-in-Chief of the entire Union Army. Grant’s decisiveness combined with William Tecumseh Sherman’s boldness proved essential in prosecuting the war from late 1863 onward.
- Recap the war by considering major statistics, including the number of casualties and deaths on each side. Ask what stance Americans today should have towards those who fought in the Civil War, distinguishing between Northern soldiers and Southern soldiers. When considering Southern soldiers, be sure to note the tragic death of so many Americans, even if they were fighting for a confederate government dedicated to preserving slavery. As noted previously, most of those doing the actual fighting for the South did not own slaves and believed that they were fighting for their country as well.
- Read and have a seminar conversation about Abraham Lincoln’s second inaugural address. Lincoln addresses many topics within the speech, both reflecting on the war and outlining a plan for after the war. In some respects, this speech is “part two” of what Lincoln began to assert in the Gettysburg Address. One of the main ideas Lincoln suggests, however, is that the Civil War was a punishment for the whole nation. This punishment was not necessarily for the mere existence of slavery but because, unlike the founding generation, the nation had in the time since the founding not continued to work for the abolition of the evil of slavery. While no country will ever be perfect, a people should work to make sure its laws do not promote the perpetuation of a practice that violates the equal natural rights of its fellow citizens.
- To set up the following unit, outline for students Abraham Lincoln’s preliminary plans for reconstruction, and impress upon students the immense historical consequences of Lincoln’s assassination.

### STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

**Assignment 1:** By considering his speeches and the Emancipation Proclamation, explain how Abraham Lincoln expanded the purposes of the Civil War from preserving the Union and preventing the spread of slavery to abolishing slavery itself (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Recite by heart the Gettysburg Address.

**Assignment 3:** Retell the history of the Civil War (3–4 paragraphs).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Civil War | Lesson 3  
*Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Chapter 21

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Why was it important that the South fired the first shots of the Civil War?
2. For which reasons did the Union have the overall advantage at the beginning of the war?
3. What was the “Anaconda plan” that Union General Winfield Scott developed (named after the tropical snake that strangled its prey to death)?
4. Name one Confederate general you read about and one Union general you read about (besides Winfield Scott).
5. What was the name of the order given by President Lincoln that freed the slaves in the rebelling states?

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Civil War | Lesson 3  
*Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Chapter 22

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Which Confederate general was killed by his own soldiers when they mistook him for an enemy?
2. Which famous and bloody battle in Pennsylvania marked a defeat for the Confederacy that stopped their incursion into Union territory?
3. Who was the key Union general Lincoln found to lead successfully the Union armies from 1864 onward?
4. What did General William Tecumseh Sherman do in Georgia?
5. What happened on April 14, 1865 (Good Friday), at Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC?

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Unit 4 — Formative Quiz 2

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Covering Lesson 3  
10-15 minutes

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
2. What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg in the Virginia and Maryland theatre of war?
3. How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
4. Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?
5. What were Abraham Lincoln's plans for reconstruction following the Civil War, as outlined in his Second inaugural address and from what we know of his private meetings in the war's final weeks?

## Lesson 4 — Reconstruction

1865–1877

4-5 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the remarkable fulfillment of civil rights for freedmen during Reconstruction despite the objections of some and then the reversal of many of those realizations in for confederate states during Reconstruction and after its end in 1877.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapters 23 and 24  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 190–204  
Pages 196–202  
Pages 188–199

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*

Lecture 11  
Lectures 4 and 5

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, chapters 23 and 24, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Former Confederacy

#### Persons

Andrew Johnson  
Thaddeus Stevens  
Hiram Revels  
Ulysses S. Grant

Elijah McCoy  
Lewis Howard Latimer  
Rutherford B. Hayes

**Terms and Topics**

Reconstruction	Ku Klux Klan
Radical Republicans	lynching
freedmen	Ku Klux Klan Acts
13th, 14th, 15th Amendments	Transcontinental Railroad
military districts	Seward's Folly
Freedmen's Bureau	Crédit Mobilier Scandal
impeachment	Panic of 1873
sharecropping	Jim Crow
black codes	Compromise of 1877
scalawags and carpetbaggers	

**Primary Sources**

13th Amendment  
 14th Amendment  
 15th Amendment  
 Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

**To Know by Heart**

First lines of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments

**Timeline**

1865–77	Reconstruction
1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president
1868	First African American elected to Congress
1877	Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes becomes president

**Images**

Historical figures and events  
 Maps showing the gradual re-admittance of Southern states  
 Photographs of African Americans in the South, both in freedom and with the heavy restrictions placed on their freedom

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

- Frederick Douglass reflecting on the Emancipation Proclamation taking effect
- The swearing in of Hiram Revels to the U.S. Senate
- Completion of the Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Point, Utah

**QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND**

- What were the similarities and differences between Abraham Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction and that of the Radical Republicans, especially concerning means, manner, and ends?
- What were the sources of tension between Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans especially?
- What did a Confederate state have to do in order to be readmitted fully in to the Union?

- Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, what did each do?
- What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment?
- In what ways did governments of the former Confederacy attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction? How did they respond to the actions of Republicans in the North?
- In what ways did Southern states attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction? How did they respond to the actions of Republicans in the North?
- What did the Freedmen's Bureau do?
- How can Ulysses S. Grant's presidency be characterized?
- What did the Ku Klux Klan Acts do?
- What happened in the election of 1876 and subsequent compromise of 1877?
- What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the former confederacy, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 63: There are four amendments to the U.S. Constitution about who can vote. Describe one of them.
  - Question 97: What amendment gives citizenship to all persons born in the United States?
  - Question 98: When did all men get the right to vote?
  - Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.
  - Question 127: What is Memorial Day?

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

Even before the battlefield fighting was over, a new kind of struggle would emerge to determine the status of former slaves now made free. In decisive ways, Abraham Lincoln's assassination was devastating for the prospects of healing the nation while effectively securing the equal rights of freedmen. Not only was the desire for vengeance that Lincoln attempted to abate unleashed against the South, but the Republicans controlling Congress themselves fought bitterly with President Andrew Johnson over the purpose and method of Reconstruction. While some remarkable gains were made for African Americans in the South, particularly in fulfilling in law the core ideas enunciated in the American founding and fought for by the Union, objections to such fulfillments remained, new injustices were established, and the management of Reconstruction was in disarray. The Compromise of 1877 ended the period of Reconstruction, leaving the protections African Americans had gained without federal protection, resulting in decades of restrictions on their rights and liberties.

Teachers might best plan and teach Reconstruction with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the effect of Abraham Lincoln's assassination on Reconstruction and the future of America, especially as regards civil rights for African Americans. Lincoln's focus was healing the nation while simultaneously providing for the effective and long-term establishment of equal rights for African Americans. Lincoln was succeeded after his assassination by Vice President Andrew Johnson.
- The transformation of a society away from decades of slavery was no small task. Depict Reconstruction as being tragically undermined and strained by the conflicts between congressional Republicans (who strongly opposed slavery), President Andrew Johnson (a pro-



Union Democrat with little sympathy for former slaves), and lawmakers in the Southern states (who mostly wished to restrict the rights of the new freedmen), all of whom operated out of distrust following a painful and bloody Civil War.

- Have students read the three amendments to the Constitution and the laws passed during Reconstruction, especially the Civil Rights Act of 1866, related to the abolition of slavery and citizenship of freedmen. It is important to note the major and meaningful efforts Republicans made to guarantee the rights of African Americans. Questions on pages 197–199 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Teach students about both the important gains and protections Republicans won for African Americans during Reconstruction as well as the ways in which these were undermined by actions in the former Confederate states and Johnson himself. Students should gain an appreciation of the remarkable speed and degrees to which former slaves were incorporated into the civil body early in Reconstruction, including the thousands of African Americans who would hold office at the local, state, and even federal level. But they should also understand the ways that Johnson resisted equal treatment of African Americans and in doing so encouraged and allowed certain bad policies (such as “black codes” passed by state legislatures and movements such as what would become the Ku Klux Klan) in the former Confederacy. In fact, many of the reversals of reconstruction began during the presidential reconstruction of Johnson, who was decidedly against secession but by no means opposed to slavery. Congress repeatedly had to override his vetoes and enact Constitutional amendments to prevent his defense of inequalities. Such Congressional action, however, also laid the groundwork for the expansion of federal power into and over state law, especially through the 14th Amendment and military government.
- Have students learn about the ways in which many civil rights achievements were thwarted or undone both during and after Reconstruction. For instance, spend time discussing how as Southerners were refranchised, African American officials were voted out of office and how “black codes” would eventually become Jim Crow laws. Discuss how “black codes” limited freedmen’s civil rights and imposed economic restrictions, including making being unemployed illegal, prohibiting landownership, requiring long-term labor contracts, prohibiting assemblies of freedmen only, prohibiting teaching freedmen to read or write, segregating public facilities, prohibiting freedmen from serving on juries, and carrying out corporal punishments for violators, among other restrictions and injustices. Read sample black codes aloud in class and discuss, such as the Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana. Note also the use of poll taxes and literacy tests to prohibit African Americans from voting.
- Explain how sharecropping made it nearly impossible for freedmen to accumulate enough capital to purchase their own land or set-off on a different pursuit. Moreover, students should be aware of the struggle facing freedmen who were still in a society prejudiced against them, without capital, land, or even the ability to read.
- Explain the emergence of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the power that their intimidation of African Americans and Republicans had in diminishing the political participation of freedmen.
- Teach students how Republicans passed and President Ulysses S. Grant signed into law the Ku Klux Klan Acts to prohibit intimidation of freedmen exercising their civil rights. Grant also empowered the president to use the armed forces against those who tried to deny freedmen equal protection under the laws. Nonetheless, such measures were usually sloppily enforced.

- At the same time, note the improvements during Reconstruction in building hospitals, creating a public school system, securing civil rights in principle, and fostering community within the freedmen community, especially in marital and family stability and through vibrant churches.
- Explain that Reconstruction effectively ended with the Compromise of 1877 that settled the disputed election of 1876. Congress (now controlled by the Democratic Party) would allow Republican Rutherford B. Hayes to be declared president in exchange for his withdrawing federal troops in former confederate states. Point out that in the backdrop was both continuing Southern resistance and a gradual waning of Northern zeal for (and political interest in) reform within the South.
- Ask students to consider the tragic nature of Reconstruction: a time of so much hoped for and achieved in applying the principle of equal natural rights was repeatedly undermined and mismanaged, then suddenly ended for political expediency, enabling new forms of injustice in certain areas of the country, after a war to end injustice had consumed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Americans.
- Nevertheless, make sure students do not lose sight of the momentous achievements in liberty, equality, and self-government fulfilled because of the Civil War. Students should appreciate the very significant achievements of Lincoln and the Civil War while looking forward to future generations of Americans who would seek to live up to the fundamental principles of America in their own times.

### STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

**Assignment 1:** Compared to Abraham Lincoln's plans for Reconstruction, explain the ways in which Reconstruction was successful and the ways in which it was not successful (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Retell the civil rights realizations Republicans achieved for freedmen during Reconstruction and the injustices that they were subject to both during and after Reconstruction in the former confederate states (1–2 paragraphs).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Civil War | Lesson 4  
*Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Chapters 23 and 24

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. In general, what was Abraham Lincoln's plan and tone for Reconstruction?
2. What was the relationship like between President Andrew Johnson and the Republicans? Why?
3. Name one of the things that the three Reconstruction amendments (13th, 14th, and 15th) did?
4. Which military hero was president during much of Reconstruction?
5. What kinds of unjust things happened during and after Reconstruction?



## **APPENDIX A**

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment



## Study Guide — Unit 4, Test 1

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Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

Test on \_\_\_\_\_

### TIMELINE

*When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.*

1846–48	Mexican–American War
1849	California Gold Rush
1850	Compromise of 1850
1854	Kansas–Nebraska Act; Republican Party founded
1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

*Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.*

California	Fort Sumter	Border States
Kansas–Nebraska Territory	Union	
Harpers Ferry	Confederacy	

### PERSONS

*Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.*

John C. Calhoun	Harriet Beecher Stowe	Stephen Douglas
Abraham Lincoln	Harriet Tubman	Dred Scott
Frederick Douglass	William Lloyd Garrison	James Buchanan
Sojourner Truth	Franklin Pierce	John Brown

### TERMS AND TOPICS

*Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.*

“positive good”	<i>Frederick Douglass</i>	popular sovereignty
antebellum	<i>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</i>	Democratic Party
secession	Underground Railroad	Republican Party
Compromise of 1850	Kansas–Nebraska Act	<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>
Fugitive Slave Law	popular sovereignty	Lincoln–Douglas Debates
abolitionism	Bleeding Kansas	“don’t care”
<i>Narrative of the Life of</i>	“a house divided”	moral relativism

majority tyranny  
“apple and frame” Metaphor

states’ rights

Confederate States of  
America

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.*

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Frederick Douglass*  
“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln  
“Fragment on the Constitution and Union,” Abraham Lincoln  
First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

## TO KNOW BY HEART

*Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.*

“Knowledge makes a man unfit to be a slave.” — Frederick Douglass  
“A house divided against itself cannot stand.” — Abraham Lincoln

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.*

- Biographies and the roles of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Abraham Lincoln prior to the Civil War
- Childhood biography of Abraham Lincoln
- Scenes from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*
- Actions of Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad
- The first shots fired on Fort Sumter and its surrender

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.*

### Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

- What general prediction about the future of slavery did the Framers of the Constitution make?
- What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution went into effect, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders’ predictions regarding slavery?
- What was life like for slaves in the Southern states? What was a slave auction like?
- What was John C. Calhoun’s idea that slavery was a “positive good”? Why did he argue this, and how was this a change from previous arguments about slavery?



- Compared to the north, how would the south's society and economy suggest John C. Calhoun was wrong about the supposed economic and social benefits of slavery?
- How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
- Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for Southern states?
- What were the two most controversial parts of the Compromise of 1850? What were their effects?
- What roles did Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Tubman, and Harriet Beecher Stowe play in the abolitionist movement?
- How did the Underground Railroad work?
- What did the Kansas–Nebraska Act do?
- What was the idea of “popular sovereignty”? Where did the idea come from and why?

## Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

- According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* recast the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the founding ideas of equality?
- According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* threaten to make slavery legal anywhere in the union?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that Stephen Douglas's personal stance of how he does not care (“I care not”) how a state or territory votes on slavery is dangerous and indefensible? How was this connected to Lincoln's predictions regarding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln believe popular sovereignty without an argument on the morality of slavery amounted to majority tyranny?
- Why did Lincoln see the question of the morality of slavery to be at the heart of America's founding?
- Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his “apple of gold, frame of silver” metaphor.
- How did Abraham Lincoln navigate the period between his election and the first shots at Fort Sumter? How did the country descend into war during this period?
- How was slavery the true cause of the Civil War?



Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

# The American Civil War — Test 1

Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

## TIMELINE

Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

- 1846–48      \_\_\_\_\_
- 1849          \_\_\_\_\_
- 1854          \_\_\_\_\_
- 1860          \_\_\_\_\_
- April 12, 1861      \_\_\_\_\_

- A. Attack on Fort Sumter
- B. California Gold Rush
- C. Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
- D. Kansas–Nebraska Act; Republican Party founded
- E. Mexican–American War

## GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Outline and label the Union states, border states, and Confederate states.



Map courtesy of  
A Student  
Workbook for  
Land of Hope.

**PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS**

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- |                                  |                       |                             |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Border                        | E. Frederick Douglass | J. popular sovereignty      |
| B. Compromise of 1850            | F. Fugitive Slave Law | K. Republican Party         |
| C. <i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i> | G. Harriet Tubman     | L. South Carolina           |
| D. Fort Sumter                   | H. John Brown         | M. <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> |
|                                  | I. Kansas-Nebraska    |                             |

- Henry Clay helped orchestrate the passage of the \_\_\_\_\_, a package of five separate bills which relieved tensions between the North and South over the slavery issue.
- Included in this package was the \_\_\_\_\_ which required Northerners to actively assist in capturing runaway slaves, thus stirring the ire of many in the north.
- In the years leading up to the Civil War, various abolitionists worked and wrote against slavery, such as the escaped slave turned writer \_\_\_\_\_, newspaperman William Lloyd Garrison, and Harriet Beecher Stowe whose book, \_\_\_\_\_, did much to reveal the horrors of slavery to Northerners and shift public opinion into action.
- Escaped slave \_\_\_\_\_ was one of the main conductors on the Underground Railroad that led slaves to freedom in the North and Canada.
- Congressman Stephen Douglas, who desired to be the new 'Great Compromiser,' pushed for a new approach to slavery in the West: \_\_\_\_\_. This approach regarded slavery as a morally neutral practice and allowed each state to decide for themselves if it was permissible within its borders.
- The infamous \_\_\_\_\_ Act of 1854 contradicted the Missouri Compromise and set up Kansas as a real battleground over the issue of slavery in what became known as "Bleeding Kansas." It was in response to this act that Abraham Lincoln returned to politics.
- In 1854, former Whigs, Free Soilers, and abolitionists formed the new \_\_\_\_\_ with the purpose of actively standing against the expansion of slavery.
- The Supreme Court asserted in the case \_\_\_\_\_ that slaves had no rights as written in the Constitution and that slavery could not be prevented from spreading throughout the Union.
- In 1859, the abolitionist \_\_\_\_\_ attempted to lead a southern slave insurrection. His efforts were cut short when he was cornered and captured at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.
- In response to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, \_\_\_\_\_ decided to secede from the Union, followed by a host of southern states, though by the time Lincoln was inaugurated in March 1861, no violence had broken out.

12. Part of Lincoln’s First inaugural address was an attempt to keep Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, called the \_\_\_\_\_ States, loyal to the Union. If these states had seceded, it would have been likely that the South would have had enough strength to win the war.
13. The first shots of the war were fired on the federal fort in Charleston Harbor called \_\_\_\_\_. Thus did war begin between the Union and the Confederacy.

### KNOWN BY HEART

*Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.*

14. “\_\_\_\_\_ makes a man unfit to be a \_\_\_\_\_.” — Frederick Douglass
15. “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” — \_\_\_\_\_

### STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3<sup>rd</sup> grade students.*

16. Childhood biography of Abraham Lincoln
17. The first shots fired on Fort Sumter and its surrender

**QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND**

*Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed and responses must fully answer each question.*

18. What had been the Constitution's framers' general prediction about the future of slavery?
  
19. What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution was adopted, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
  
20. How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
  
21. Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for Southern states?
  
22. According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* recast the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the founding ideas of equality?
  
23. Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that Stephen Douglas's personal stance of how he does not care ("I care not") how a state or territory votes on slavery is dangerous and indefensible? How was this connected to Lincoln's predictions regarding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision?
  
24. Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his "apple of gold, frame of silver" metaphor.
  
25. What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his First Inaugural Address?

## Study Guide — Unit 4, Test 2

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Lesson 3 | The Civil War  
Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

Test on \_\_\_\_\_

### TIMELINE

*When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.*

1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
1861–65	Civil War
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter
1863	Emancipation Proclamation takes effect
July 1–3, 1863	Battle of Gettysburg
1864	Abraham Lincoln reelected
April 14–15, 1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president
1865–77	Reconstruction
1877	Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes president

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

*Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.*

Fort Sumter	Richmond	Appomattox Court House
Union	West Virginia	Ford's Theatre
Confederacy	Border States	Former Confederacy

### PERSONS

*Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.*

Abraham Lincoln	Clara Barton	Andrew Johnson
Jefferson Davis	Ulysses S. Grant	Hiram Revels
Robert E. Lee	William Tecumseh Sherman	Ulysses S. Grant
George McClellan	Robert Gould Shaw	Rutherford B. Hayes
Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson	John Wilkes Booth	

### TERMS AND TOPICS

*Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.*

states' rights	minié ball	ironclads
Confederate States of America	Army of the Potomac	USS <i>Monitor</i>
	Army of Northern Virginia	CSS <i>Virginia</i>

abolition	Military Districts	Ku Klux Klan Acts
Pickett's Charge	Freedmen's Bureau	Transcontinental Railroad
54th Massachusetts	sharecropping	Crédit Mobilier Scandal
Sherman's "March to the Sea"	black codes	Jim Crow
Reconstruction	scalawags and carpetbaggers	Compromise of 1877
Radical Republicans	Ku Klux Klan	
freedmen	lynching	

## MAJOR CONFLICTS

*Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.*

First Manassas/Bull Run	Fredericksburg and	Gettysburg
Shiloh	Chancellorsville	Sherman's "March to the Sea"
Peninsula Campaign	Fort Wagner	
Antietam	Vicksburg	

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.*

Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln  
 Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln  
 Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln  
 Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

## TO KNOW BY HEART

*Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.*

Gettysburg Address — Abraham Lincoln  
 "So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." — William Tecumseh Sherman telegram announcing the fall of Atlanta to Abraham Lincoln  
 First lines of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.*

Biographies and roles of Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman in the Civil War  
 Fighting at Little Round Top and Pickett's Charge  
 Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House



Abraham Lincoln's cabinet meeting regarding dealing with the south just hours before his assassination  
 Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent killing of John Wilkes Booth  
 The swearing in of Hiram Revels to the US Senate

### QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.*

#### Lesson 3 | The Civil War

- What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his First inaugural address?
- What were Jefferson Davis's arguments on the morality and expansion of slavery, the North, and states' rights and secession?
- What was important about Virginia's decision to secede? How did it come about?
- What were Abraham Lincoln's goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
- Why and how did Abraham Lincoln need to keep the border states in the Union?
- What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?
- What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg in the Virginia and Maryland theater of war?
- How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
- In summary, what did Abraham Lincoln argue in the Gettysburg Address?
- Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?
- What were the most significant moments in the Civil War?
- What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?
- What were Abraham Lincoln's plans for reconstruction following the Civil War, as outlined in his Second inaugural address and from what we know of his private meetings in the war's final weeks?

#### Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

- What were the two major issues facing Andrew Johnson and Republicans in the North during the early years of Reconstruction?
- What were the similarities and differences between Abraham Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction and that of the Radical Republicans, especially concerning means, manner, and ends?
- What were the sources of tension between Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans especially?
- What did a Confederate state have to do to be readmitted fully in to the Union?
- Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, what did each do?
- What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13th Amendment?

- In what ways did Southern states attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction?  
How did they respond to the actions of Republicans in the North?
- How can Ulysses S. Grant's presidency be characterized?
- What did the Ku Klux Klan Acts do?
- What happened in the election of 1876 and the subsequent Compromise of 1877?
- What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the South, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## The American Civil War — Test 2

Lesson 3 | The Civil War  
Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

### TIMELINE

Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

- |                   |       |   |
|-------------------|-------|---|
| 1860              | _____ | A. Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president |
| 1861–65           | _____ | B. Abraham Lincoln reelected                                      |
| April 12, 1861    | _____ | C. Attack on Fort Sumter  |
| 1863              | _____ | D. Battle of Gettysburg   |
| July 1–3, 1863    | _____ | E. Civil War  |
| 1864              | _____ | F. Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes president              |
| April 14–15, 1865 | _____ | G. Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes            |
| 1865–77           | _____ | H. Emancipation Proclamation takes effect                         |
| 1877              | _____ | I. Reconstruction   |

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

- Label Fort Sumter, Washington, DC, Richmond, Vicksburg, and Gettysburg.



Map courtesy of A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope.

**PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS**

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- |                                   |                     |                             |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. 54 <sup>th</sup> Massachusetts | F. Jim Crow         | K. Robert E. Lee            |
| B. Appomattox Court House         | G. minie ball       | L. sharecropping            |
| C. black codes                    | H. Pickett's Charge | M. Ulysses S. Grant         |
| D. Ford's Theatre                 | I. railroads        | N. William Tecumseh Sherman |
| E. ironclads                      | J. Reconstruction   |                             |
- One great advantage to the North was in its number of \_\_\_\_\_, which allowed for the faster deployment of soldiers, shipping of supplies, and industrial output.
  - Gunshot wounds were so gruesome and limb-endangering due to the \_\_\_\_\_, a conical round that shattered bones and left a larger exit wound than entrance resulting in the Civil War's high amputation rate.
  - The Civil War was the first war which not only saw widespread use of breech-loaded weapons but also the first \_\_\_\_\_ ships, the first battle of which was fought between the USS *Monitor* and the CSS *Virginia* in the James River.
  - The bloodiest and most pointless attack of the Battle of Gettysburg was the last attack on July 3rd, called \_\_\_\_\_ in which over 1,000 Confederate soldiers were killed as they attempted to take the Union position on Cemetery Ridge.
  - The most famous of the United States Colored Troops regiments was the \_\_\_\_\_ Regiment, which fought bravely in their tragic attack on Fort Wagner in South Carolina.
  - Having graduated top of his class at West Point and having served the United States faithfully for thirty-two years, \_\_\_\_\_'s care for, as he put it, "my relatives, my children, my home," outweighed his belief that secession was unconstitutional.
  - Having graduated near the bottom of his class at West Point and having lived a tumultuous life of poverty and drinking, \_\_\_\_\_'s repeated, bold, and well-executed successes in the Mississippi-Tennessee Theatre garnered him a promotion to General-in-Chief of the Union forces.
  - The colleague of Ulysses S. Grant, \_\_\_\_\_ proved to be one of the Union's most successful and controversial generals, especially after his "March to the Sea" campaign of scorched earth warfare. He justified it by saying, "War is hell." Like Grant, he hated war, but wanted the citizens to feel the effects of war (short of hurting them physically) and so hasten peace. Nonetheless, his tactics through Georgia escalated the bitterness between the north and south.
  - The bloodiest conflict in American history ended after four years when General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General Grant's Army of the Potomac at \_\_\_\_\_ in Virginia on April, 9th, 1865.

11. On the night of April 14th at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C., actor and Southern sympathizer \_\_\_\_\_ shot Abraham Lincoln, who died the next morning, just six days after the war ended.
12. The era known as \_\_\_\_\_ witnessed the realization of many civil rights for freedmen and the efforts and resources of Northern Republicans to protect them, such as through Constitutional Amendments, civil rights acts, and the Ku Klux Klan Act.
13. Although slaves were freed following the Civil War, many Southern governments tried to limit their rights through \_\_\_\_\_.
14. Since there was so little non-agrarian work in the south, plantation owners often left freedmen no choice but to resort to \_\_\_\_\_, where the plantation owner would lease the freedmen a share of his land to grow crops in exchange for a majority share of the crops that were grown.
15. With the sudden end of Reconstruction in 1877, injustices returned to African Americans in the South in an era characterized by segregation and discrimination in laws known as \_\_\_\_\_.

### **MAJOR CONFLICTS**

*Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.*

16. Antietam

17. Gettysburg

**KNOWN BY HEART**

*Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.*

18. "...and that government of the \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Source and Speaker – \_\_\_\_\_

19. "Neither \_\_\_\_\_ nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall \_\_\_\_\_ within the United States, or any \_\_\_\_\_ subject to their jurisdiction."

Source – \_\_\_\_\_

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.*

20. Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House

21. Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent killing of his assassin

**QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND**

*Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed and responses must fully answer each question.*

22. What were Abraham Lincoln's goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
  
23. What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?
  
24. What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
  
25. How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
  
26. What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?
  
27. Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, what did each do?
  
28. What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13th Amendment?
  
29. What happened in the election of 1876 and subsequent compromise of 1877?
  
30. What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the South, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?





## Writing Assignment — The American Civil War

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Unit 4

Due on \_\_\_\_\_

**DIRECTIONS:** Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

What did President Abraham Lincoln argue about the principles of America, the practice of slavery, and the Civil War?



## **APPENDIX B**

### Primary Sources

Frederick Douglass

Abraham Lincoln

The American People

E.D. Estillette



**FREDERICK DOUGLASS**

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,  
An American Slave*

AUTOBIOGRAPHY EXCERPT

May 1, 1845

Anti-Slavery Office | Boston, Massachusetts

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**BACKGROUND**

The former slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass wrote this autobiography on his life as a slave and his eventual escape and life in freedom.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. Who was Douglass' father?
2. What accounts does Douglass give of his childhood and life as a slave?
3. Why does Douglass go to Baltimore the first time?
4. What happens on Douglass's first escape attempt?
5. How does Douglass feel about being free in the North?

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Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845).

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

I WAS born in Tuckahoe, near Hillsborough, and about twelve miles from Easton, in Talbot county, Maryland. I have no accurate knowledge of my age, never having seen any authentic record containing it. By far the larger part of the slaves know as little of their ages as horses know of theirs, and it is the wish of most masters within my knowledge to keep their slaves thus ignorant. I do not remember to have ever met a slave who could tell of his birthday. They seldom come nearer to it than planting-time, harvest-time, cherry-time, spring-time, or fall-time. A want of information concerning my own was a source of unhappiness to me even during childhood. The white children could tell their ages. I could not tell why I ought to be deprived of the same privilege. I was not allowed to make any inquiries of my master concerning it. He deemed all such inquiries on the part of a slave improper and impertinent, and evidence of a restless spirit. The nearest estimate I can give makes me now between twenty-seven and twenty-eight years of age. I come to this, from hearing my master say, some time during 1835, I was about seventeen years old.

My mother was named Harriet Bailey. She was the daughter of Isaac and Betsey Bailey, both colored, and quite dark. My mother was of a darker complexion than either my grandmother or grandfather.

My father was a white man. He was admitted to be such by all I ever heard speak of my parentage. The opinion was also whispered that my master was my father; but of the correctness of this opinion, I know nothing; the means of knowing was withheld from me. My mother and I were separated when I was but an infant—before I knew her as my mother. It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age. Frequently, before the child has reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired out on some farm a considerable distance off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor. For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and to blunt and destroy the natural affection of the mother for the child. This is the inevitable result.

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

I never saw my mother, to know her as such, more than four or five times in my life; and each of these times was very short in duration, and at night. She was hired by a Mr. Stewart, who lived about twelve miles from my home. She made her journeys to see me in the night, travelling the whole distance on foot, after the performance of her day's work. She was a field hand, and a whipping is the penalty of not being in the field at sunrise, unless a slave has special permission from his or her master to the contrary—a permission which they seldom get, and one that gives to him that gives it the proud name of being a kind master. I do not recollect of ever seeing my mother by the light of day. She was with me in the night. She would lie down with me, and get me to sleep, but long before I waked she was gone. Very little communication ever took place between us. Death soon ended what little we could have while she lived, and with it her hardships and suffering.

She died when I was about seven years old, on one of my master's farms, near Lee's Mill. I was not allowed to be present during her illness, at her death, or burial. She was gone long before I knew any thing about it. Never have enjoyed, to any considerable extent, her soothing presence, her tender and watchful care, I received the tidings of her death with much the same emotions I should have probably felt at the death of a stranger.

Called thus suddenly away, she left me without the slightest intimation of who my father was. The whisper that my master was my father, may or may not be true; and, true or false, it is of but little consequence to my purpose whilst the fact remains, in all its glaring odiousness, that slaveholders have ordained, and by law established, that the children of slave women shall in all cases follow the condition of their mothers; and this is done too obviously to administer to their own lusts, and make a gratification of their wicked desires profitable as well as pleasurable; for by this cunning arrangement, the slaveholder, in cases not a few, sustains to his slaves the double relation of master and father.

I know of such cases, and it is worthy, of remark that such slaves invariably suffer greater hardships, and have more to contend with, than others. They are, in the first place, a constant offence to their mistress. She is ever disposed to find fault with them; they can seldom do any thing to please her; she is never better pleased than when she sees them under the

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

- lash, especially when she suspects her husband of showing to his mulatto children favors which he withholds from his black slaves. The master is frequently compelled to sell this class of his slaves, out of deference to the feelings of his white wife; and, cruel as the deed may strike any one to be, for a man to sell his own children to human flesh-mongers, it is
- 5 often the dictate of humanity for him to do so; for, unless he does this, he must not only whip them himself, but must stand by and see one white son tie up his brother, of but few shades darker complexion than himself, and ply the gory lash to his naked back; and if he lisp one word of disapproval, “it is set down to his parental partiality, and only makes a bad matter worse, both for himself and the slave whom he would protect and defend.
- 10 Every year brings with it multitudes of this class of slaves. It was doubtless in consequence of a knowledge of this fact, that one great statesman of the south predicted the downfall of slavery by the inevitable laws of population. Whether this prophecy is ever fulfilled or not, it is nevertheless plain that a very different-looking class of people are springing up at the south, and are now held in slavery, from those originally brought to this country from Af-
- 15 rica; and if their increase will do no other good, it will do away the force of the argument, that God cursed Ham, and therefore American slavery is right. If the lineal descendants of Ham are alone to be scripturally enslaved, it is certain that slavery at the south must soon become unscriptural; for thousands are ushered into the world, annually, who, like myself, owe their existence to white fathers, and those fathers most frequently their own masters.
- 20 I have had two masters. My first master’s name was Anthony. I do not remember his first name. He was generally called Captain Anthony—a title which, I presume, he acquired by sailing a craft on the Chesapeake Bay. He was not considered a rich slaveholder. He owned two or three farms, and about thirty slaves. His farms and slaves were under the care of an overseer. The overseer’s name was Plummer. Mr. Plummer was a miserable drunkard, a
- 25 profane swearer, and a savage monster. He always went armed with a cowskin and a heavy cudgel. I have known him to cut and slash the women’s heads so horribly, that even master would be enraged at his cruelty, and would threaten to whip him if he did not mind himself. Master, however, was not a humane slaveholder. It required extraordinary barbarity on the part of an overseer to affect him. He was a cruel man, hardened by a long life of slave-



**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

holding. He would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave. I have often been awakened at the dawn of day by the most heart-rending shrieks of an own aunt of mine, whom he used to tie up to a joist, and whip upon her naked back till she was literally covered with blood. No words, no tears, no prayers, from his gory victim, seemed to move  
5 his iron heart from its bloody purpose. The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remem-  
10 ber any thing. It was the first of a long series of such outrages, of which I was doomed to be a witness and a participant. It struck me with awful force. It was the blood-stained gate, the entrance to the hell of slavery, through which I was about to pass. It was a most terrible spectacle. I wish I could commit to paper the feelings with which I beheld it....

It is partly in consequence of such facts, that slaves, when inquired of as to their condition  
15 and the character of their masters, almost universally say they are contented, and that their masters are kind. The slaveholders have been known to send in spies among their slaves, to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition. The frequency of this has had the effect to establish among the slaves the maxim, that a still tongue makes a wise head. They suppress the truth rather than take the consequences of telling it, and in so  
20 doing prove themselves a part of the human family. If they have any thing to say of their masters, it is generally in their masters' favor, especially when speaking to an untried man. I have been frequently asked, when a slave, if I had a kind master, and do not remember ever to have given a negative answer; nor did I, in pursuing this course, consider myself as uttering what was absolutely false; for I always measured the kindness of my master by the  
25 standard of kindness set up among slaveholders around us. Moreover, slaves are like other people, and imbibe prejudices quite common to others. They think their own better than that of others. Many, under the influence of this prejudice, think their own masters are better than the masters of other slaves; and this, too, in some cases, when the very reverse is true. Indeed, it is not uncommon for slaves even to fall out and quarrel among themselves

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about the relative goodness of their masters, each contending for the superior goodness of his own over that of the others. At the very same time, they mutually execrate their masters when viewed separately. It was so on our plantation. When Colonel Lloyd's slaves met the slaves of Jacob Jepson, they seldom parted without a quarrel about their masters; Colonel Lloyd's slaves contending that he was the richest, and Mr. Jepson's slaves that he was the smartest, and most of a man. Colonel Lloyd's slaves would boast his ability to buy and sell Jacob Jepson. Mr. Jepson's slaves would boast his ability to whip Colonel Lloyd. These quarrels would almost always end in a fight between the parties, and those that whipped were supposed to have gained the point at issue. They seemed to think that the greatness of their masters was transferable to themselves. It was considered as being bad enough to be a slave; but to be a poor man's slave was deemed a disgrace indeed!...

As to my own treatment while I lived on Colonel Lloyd's plantation, it was very similar to that of the other slave children. I was not old enough to work in the field, and there being little else than field work to do, I had a great deal of leisure time. The most I had to do was to drive up the cows at evening, keep the fowls out of the garden, keep the front yard clean, and run of errands for my old master's daughter, Mrs. Lucretia Auld. The most of my leisure time I spent in helping Master Daniel Lloyd in finding his birds, after he had shot them. My connection with Master Daniel was of some advantage to me. He became quite attached to me, and was a sort of protector of me. He would not allow the older boys to impose upon me, and would divide his cakes with me.

I was seldom whipped by my old master, and suffered little from any thing else than hunger and cold. I suffered much from hunger, but much more from cold. In hottest summer and coldest winter, I was kept almost naked—no shoes, no stockings, no jacket, no trousers, nothing on but a coarse tow linen shirt, reaching only to my knees. I had no bed. I must have perished with cold, but that, the coldest nights, I used to steal a bag which was used for carrying corn to the mill. I would crawl into this bag, and there sleep on the cold, damp, clay floor, with my head in and feet out. My feet have been so cracked with the frost, that the pen with which I am writing might be laid in the gashes.

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We were not regularly allowanced. Our food was coarse corn meal boiled. This was called mush. It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set down upon the ground. The children were then called, like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and devour the mush; some with oyster shells, others with pieces of shingle, some with naked hands, and none with spoons. He that ate fastest got most; he that was strongest secured the best place; and few left the trough satisfied. I was probably between seven and eight years old when I left Colonel Lloyd's plantation. I left it with joy. I shall never forget the ecstasy with which I received the intelligence that my old master (Anthony) had determined to let me go to Baltimore, to live with Mr. Hugh Auld, brother to my old master's son-in-law, Captain Thomas Auld. I received this information about three days before my departure. They were three of the happiest days I ever enjoyed. I spent the most part of all these three days in the creek, washing off the plantation scurf, and preparing myself for my departure....

We arrived at Baltimore early on Sunday morning, landing at Smith's Wharf, not far from Bowley's Wharf. We had on board the sloop a large flock of sheep; and after aiding in driving them to the slaughter house of Mr. Curtis on Louden Slater's Hill, I was conducted by Rich, one of the hands belonging on board of the sloop, to my new home in Alliciana Street, near Mr. Gardner's ship-yard, on Fells Point.

Mr. and Mrs. Auld were both at home, and met me at the door with their little son Thomas, to take care of whom I had been given. And here I saw what I had never seen before; it was a white face beaming with the most kindly emotions; it was the face of my new mistress, Sophia Auld. I wish I could describe the rapture that flashed through my soul as I beheld it. It was a new and strange sight to me, brightening up my pathway with the light of happiness. Little Thomas was told, there was his Freddy, - and I was told to take care of little Thomas; and thus I entered upon the duties of my new home with the most cheering prospect ahead.

I look upon my departure from Colonel Lloyd's plantation as one of the most interesting events of my life. It is possible, and even quite probable, that but for the mere circumstance

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of being removed from that plantation to Baltimore, I should have to-day, instead of being here seated by my own table, in the enjoyment of freedom and the happiness of home, writing this Narrative, been confined in the galling chains of slavery. Going to live at Baltimore laid the foundation, and opened the gateway, to all my subsequent prosperity. I have  
5 ever regarded it as the first plain manifestation of that kind providence which ever since attended me, and marked my life with so many favors. I regarded the selection of myself as being somewhat remarkable. There were a number of slave children that might have been sent from the plantation to Baltimore. There were those younger, those older, and those of the same age. I was chosen from among them all, and was the first, last, and only choice.

10 I may be deemed superstitious, and even egotistical, in regarding this event as a special interposition of divine Providence in my favor. But I should be false to the earliest sentiments of my soul, if I suppressed the opinion. I prefer to be true to myself, even at the hazard of incurring the ridicule of others, rather than to be false, and incur my own abhorrence. From my earliest recollection, I date the entertainment of a deep conviction that  
15 slavery would not always be able to hold me within its foul embrace; and in the darkest hours of my career in slavery, this living word of faith and spirit of hope departed not from me, but remained like ministering angels to cheer me through the gloom. This good spirit was from God, and to him I offer thanksgiving and praise.....

I often found myself regretting my own existence, and wishing myself dead; and but for the  
20 hope of being free, I have no doubt but that I should have killed myself, or done something for which I should have been killed. While in this state of mind, I was eager to hear any one speak of slavery. I was a ready listener. Every little while, I could hear something about the abolitionists. It was some time before I found what the word meant. It was always used in such connections as to make it an interesting word to me. If a slave ran away and succeeded  
25 in getting clear, or if a slave killed his master, set fire to a barn, or did any thing very wrong in the mind of a slaveholder, it was spoken of as the fruit of *abolition*. Hearing the word in this connection very often, I set about learning what it meant. The dictionary afforded me little or no help. I found it was “the act of abolishing;” but then I did not know what was to be abolished. Here I was perplexed. I did not dare to ask any one about its meaning, for

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I was satisfied that it was something they wanted me to know very little about. After a patient waiting, I got one of our city papers, containing an account of the number of petitions from the north, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the slave trade between the States. From this time I understood the words *abolition* and *abolitionist*, and always drew near when that word was spoken, expecting to hear something of importance to myself and fellow-slaves. The light broke in upon me by degrees. I went one day down on the wharf of Mr. Waters; and seeing two Irishmen unloading a scow of stone, I went, unasked, and helped them. When we had finished, one of them came to me and asked me if I were a slave. I told him I was. He asked, "Are ye a slave for life?" I told him that I was. The good Irishman seemed to be deeply affected by the statement. He said to the other that it was a pity so fine a little fellow as myself should be a slave for life. He said it was a shame to hold me. They both advised me to run away to the north; that I should find friends there, and that I should be free. I pretended not to be interested in what they said, and treated them as if I did not understand them; for I feared they might be treacherous. White men have been known to encourage slaves to escape, and then, to get the reward, catch them and return them to their masters. I was afraid that these seemingly good men might use me so; but I nevertheless remembered their advice, and from that time I resolved to run away. I looked forward to a time at which it would be safe for me to escape. I was too young to think of doing so immediately; besides, I wished to learn how to write, as I might have occasion to write my own pass. I consoled myself with the hope that I should one day find a good chance. Meanwhile, I would learn to write.

The idea as to how I might learn to write was suggested to me by being in Durgin and Bailey's ship yard, and frequently seeing the ship carpenters, after hewing, and getting a piece of timber ready for use, write on the timber the name of that part of the ship for which it was intended. When a piece of timber was intended for the larboard side, it would be marked thus—"L." When a piece was for the starboard side, it would be marked thus—"S." A piece for the larboard side forward, would be marked thus—"L. F." When a piece was for starboard side forward, it would be marked thus—"S. F." For larboard aft, it would be marked thus—"L.A." For starboard aft, it would be marked thus—"S. A." I soon learned

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the names of these letters, and for what they were intended when placed upon a piece of timber in the ship-yard. I immediately commenced copying them, and in a short time was able to make the four letters named. After that, when I met with any boy who I knew could write, I would tell him I could write as well as he. The next word would be, "I don't believe  
5 you. Let me see you try it." I would then make the letters which I had been so fortunate as to learn, and ask him to beat that. In this way I got a good many lessons in writing, which it is quite possible I should never have gotten in any other way. During this time, my copy-book was the board fence, brick wall, and pavement; my pen and ink was a lump of chalk. With these, I learned mainly how to write. I then commenced and continued copying the  
10 Italics in Webster's Spelling Book, until I could make them all without looking on the book. By the time, my little Master Thomas had gone to school, and learned how to write, and had written over a number of copy-books. These had been brought home, and shown to some of our near neighbors, and then laid aside. My mistress used to go to class meeting at the Wilk Street meeting-house every Monday afternoon, and leave me to take care of the  
15 house. When left thus, I used to spend the time in writing in the spaces left in Master Thomas's copy-book, copying what he had written. I continued to do this until I could write a hand very similar to that of Master Thomas. Thus after a long tedious effort for years, I finally succeeded in learning to write.....

At the close of the year 1834, Mr. Freeland again hired me of my master, for the year 1835.  
20 But, by this time, I began to want to live upon free land as well as with Freeland; and I was no longer content, there fore, to live with him or any other slaveholder. I began, with the commencement of the year, to prepare myself for a final struggle, which should decide my fate one way or the other. My tendency was upward. I was fast approaching manhood, and year after year had passed, and I was still a slave. These thoughts roused me —I must do  
25 something. I therefore re solved that 1835 should not pass without witnessing an attempt, on my part, to secure my liberty. But I was not willing to cherish this determination alone. My fellow-slaves were dear to me. I was anxious to have them participate with me in this, my life-giving deter mination. I therefore, though with great prudence, commenced early to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition, and to imbue their minds

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with thoughts of freedom. I bent myself to devising ways and means for our escape, and meanwhile strove, on all fitting occasions, to impress them with the gross fraud and inhumanity of slavery. I went first to Henry, next to John, then to the others. I found, in them all, warm hearts and noble spirits. They were ready to hear, and ready to act when a feasible plan should be proposed. This was what I wanted. Italked to them of our want of manhood, if we submitted to our enslavement without at least one noble effort to be free. We met often, and consulted frequently, and told our hopes and fears, recounted the difficulties, real and imagined, which we should be called on to meet. At times we were almost disposed to give up, and try to content ourselves with our wretched lot; at others, we were firm and unbending in our determination to go. Whenever we suggested any plan, there was shrink-  
ing—the odds were fearful. Our path was beset with the greatest obstacles; and if we succeeded in gaining the end of it, our right to be free was yet questionable –we were yet liable to be returned to bondage. We could see no spot, this side of the ocean, where we could be free. We knew nothing about Canada. Our knowledge of the north did not extend farther than New York; and to go there, and be forever harassed with the frightful liability of being returned to slavery –with the certainty of being treated tenfold worse than before –the thought was truly a horrible one, and one which it was not easy to overcome. The case sometimes stood thus: At every gate through which we were to pass, we saw a watchman—at every ferry a guard—on every bridge a sentinel—and in every wood a patrol. We were hemmed in upon every side. Here were the difficulties, real or im agined—the good to be sought, and the evil to be shunned. On the one hand, there stood slavery, a stern reality, glaring frightfully upon us, - its robes already crimsoned with the blood of millions, and even now feasting itself greedily upon our own flesh. On the other hand, away back in the dim distance, under the flickering light of the north star, behind some craggy hill or snow-covered mountain, stood a doubtful free dom –half frozen—beckoning us to come and share its hospitality. This in itself was sometimes enough to stagger us; but when we permitted ourselves to survey the road, we were frequently appalled. Upon either side we saw grim death, assuming the most horrid shapes. Now it was starvation, causing us to eat our own flesh; –now we were contending with the waves, and were drowned ; –now we were over taken, and torn to pieces by the fangs of the terrible bloodhound. We were stung by

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scorpions, chased by wild beasts, bitten by snakes, and finally, after having nearly reached the desired spot, — after swimming rivers, encountering wild beasts, sleeping in the woods, suffering hunger and nakedness, -we were overtaken by our pursuers, and, in our resistance, we were shot dead upon the spot! I say, this picture sometimes appalled us, and made us “rather bear those ills we had, Than fly to others, that we knew not of.” In coming to a fixed determination to run away, we did more than Patrick Henry, when he resolved upon liberty or death. With us it was a doubtful liberty at most, and almost certain death if we failed. For my part, I should prefer death to hopeless bondage.

Sandy, one of our number, gave up the notion, but still encouraged us. Our company then consisted of Henry Harris, John Harris, Henry Bailey, Charles Roberts, and myself. Henry Bailey was my uncle, and belonged to my master. Charles married my aunt: he belonged to my master's father-in-law, Mr. William Hamilton.

The plan we finally concluded upon was, to get a large canoe belonging to Mr. Hamilton, and upon the Saturday night previous to Easter holidays, paddle directly up the Chesapeake Bay. On our arrival at the head of the bay, a distance of seventy or eighty miles from where we lived, it was our purpose to turn our canoe adrift, and follow the guidance of the north star till we got beyond the limits of Maryland. Our reason for taking the water route was, that we were less liable to be suspected as runaways; we hoped to be regarded as fishermen; whereas, if we should take the land route, we should be subjected to interruptions of almost every kind. Any one having a white face, and being so disposed, could stop us, and subject us to examination.

The week before our intended start, I wrote several protections, one for each of us. As well as I can remember, they were in the following words, to wit: “THIS is to certify that I, the undersigned, have given the bearer, my servant, full liberty to go to Baltimore, and spend the Easter holidays. Written with mine own hand, &c., 1835. - “WILLIAM HAMILTON, “Near St. Michael's, in Talbot county, Maryland.”

We were not going to Baltimore; but, in going up the bay, we went toward Baltimore, and these protections were only intended to protect us while on the bay.



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As the time drew near for our departure, our anxiety became more and more intense. It was truly a matter of life and death with us. The strength of our determination was about to be fully tested. At this time, I was very active in explaining every difficulty, removing every doubt, dispelling every fear, and inspiring all with the firmness indispensable to success in our undertaking; assuring them that half was gained the instant we made the move; we had talked long enough; we were now ready to move; if not now, we never should be; and if we did not intend to move now, we had as well fold our arms, sit down, and acknowledge ourselves fit only to be slaves. This, none of us were prepared to acknowledge. Every man stood firm; and at our last meeting, we pledged our selves afresh, in the most solemn manner, that, at the time appointed, we would certainly start in pursuit of freedom. This was in the middle of the week, at the end of which we were to be off. We went, as usual, to our several fields of labor, but with bosoms highly agitated with thoughts of our truly hazardous undertaking. We tried to conceal our feelings as much as possible; and I think we succeeded very well.

After a painful waiting, the Saturday morning, whose night was to witness our departure, came. I hailed it with joy, bring what of sadness it might. Friday night was a sleepless one for me. I probably felt more anxious than the rest, because I was, by common consent, at the head of the whole affair. The responsibility of success or failure lay heavily upon me. The glory of the one, and the confusion of the other, were alike mine. The first two hours of that morning were such as I never experienced before, and hope never to again. Early in the morning, we went, as usual, to the field. We were spreading manure; and all at once, while thus engaged, I was overwhelmed with an indescribable feeling, in the fulness of which I turned to Sandy, who was near by, and said, "We are betrayed!" "Well," said he, "that thought has this moment struck me." We said no more. I was never more certain of any thing.

The horn was blown as usual, and we went up from the field to the house for breakfast. I went for the form, more than for want of any thing to eat that morning. Just as I got to the house, in looking out at the lane gate, I saw four white men, with two colored men. The white men were on horseback, and the colored ones were walking behind, as if tied. I

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watched them a few moments till they got up to our lane gate. Here they halted, and tied the colored men to the gate-post. I was not yet certain as to what the matter was. In a few moments, in rode Mr. Hamilton, with a speed betokening great excitement. He came to the door, and inquired if Master William was in. He was told he was at the barn. Mr. Hamilton, with out dismounting, rode up to the barn with extraordinary speed. In a few moments, he and Mr. Free land returned to the house. By this time, the three constables rode up, and in great haste dismounted, tied their horses, and met Master William and Mr. Hamilton returning from the barn; and after talking awhile, they all walked up to the kitchen door. There was no one in the kitchen but myself and John. Henry and Sandy were up at the barn. Mr. Freeland put his head in at the door, and called me by name, saying, there were some gentlemen at the door who wished to see me. I stepped to the door, and inquired what they wanted. They at once seized me, and, without giving me any satisfaction, tied me —lashing my hands closely together. I insisted upon knowing what the matter was. They at length said, that they had learned I had been in a “scrape,” and that I was to be examined before my master; and if their information proved false, I should not be hurt.

In a few moments, they succeeded in tying John. They then turned to Henry, who had by this time returned, and commanded him to cross his hands. “I won't!” said Henry, in a firm tone, indicating his readiness to meet the consequences of his refusal. “Won't you?” said Tom Graham, the constable. “No, I won't!” said Henry, in a still stronger tone. With this, two of the constables pulled out their shining pistols, and swore, by their Creator, that they would make him cross his hands or kill him. Each cocked his pistol, and, with fingers on the trigger, walked up to Henry, saying, at the same time, if he did not cross his hands, they would blow his damned heart out. “Shoot me, shoot me!” said Henry; “ you can't kill me but once. Shoot, shoot, —and be damned I won't be tied!” This he said in a tone of loud defiance; and at the same time, with a motion as quick as lightning, he with one single stroke dashed the pistols from the hand of each constable. As he did this, all hands fell upon him, and, after beating him some time, they finally over powered him, and got him tied.

During the scuffle, I managed, I know not how, to get my pass out, and, without being discovered, put it into the fire. We were all now tied; and just as we were to leave for Easton

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jail, Betsy Freeland, mother of William Freeland, came to the door with her hands full of biscuits, and divided them between Henry and John. She then delivered herself of a speech, to the following effect: –addressing herself to me, she said, “You devil / You yellow devil it was you that put it into the heads of Henry and John to run away. But for you, you long-  
5 legged mulatto devil! Henry nor John would never have thought of such a thing.” I made no reply, and was immediately hurried off towards St. Michael's. Just a moment previous to the scuffle with Henry, Mr. Hamilton suggested the propriety of making a search for the protections which he had understood Frederick had written for himself and the rest. But, just at the moment he was about carrying his proposal into effect, his aid was needed in  
10 helping to tie Henry ; and the excitement attending the scuffle caused them either to forget, or to deem it unsafe, under the circumstances, to search. So we were not yet convicted of the intention to run away.

When we got about half way to St. Michael's, while the constables having us in charge were looking ahead, Henry inquired of me what he should do with his pass. I told him to eat it  
15 with his biscuit, and own nothing; and we passed the word around, “Own nothing ;” and “Own nothing !” said we all. Our confidence in each other was unshaken. We were resolved to succeed or fail together, after the calamity had befallen us as much as before. We were now prepared for any thing. We were to be dragged that morning fifteen miles behind horses, and then to be placed in the Easton jail. When we reached St. Michael's, we under-  
20 went a sort of examination. We all denied that we ever intended to run away. We did this more to bring out the evidence against us, than from any hope of getting clear of being sold; for, as I have said, we were ready for that. The fact was, we cared but little where we went, so we went together. Our greatest concern was about separation. We dreaded that more than any thing this side of death. We found the evidence against us to be the testimony of  
25 one person; our master would not tell who it was ; but we came to a unanimous decision among ourselves as to who their informant was. We were sent off to the jail at Easton. When we got there, we were delivered up to the sheriff, Mr. Joseph Graham, and by him placed in jail. Henry, John, and myself, were placed in one room together— Charles, and Henry Bailey, in another. Their object in separating us was to hinder concert.

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We had been in jail scarcely twenty minutes, when a swarm of slave traders, and agents for slave traders, flocked into jail to look at us, and to ascertain if we were for sale. Such a set of beings I never saw before I felt myself surrounded by so many fiends from perdition. A band of pirates never looked more like their father, the devil. They laughed and grinned  
5 over us, saying, "Ah, my boys! we have got you, haven't we?" And after taunting us in various ways, they one by one went into an examination of us, with intent to ascertain our value. They would impudently ask us if we would not like to have them for our masters. We would make them no answer, and leave them to find out as best they could. Then they would curse and swear at us, telling us that they could take the devil out of us in a very little  
10 while, if we were only in their hands.....

I Now come to that part of my life during which planned, and finally succeeded in making, my escape from slavery. But before narrating any of the peculiar circumstances, I deem it proper to make known my intention not to state all the facts connected with the transaction. My reasons for pursuing this course may be understood from the following: First,  
15 were I to give a minute statement of all the facts, it is not only possible, but quite probable, that others would thereby be involved in the most embarrassing difficulties. Secondly, such a statement would most undoubtedly induce greater vigilance on the part of slave holders than has existed heretofore among them; which would, of course, be the means of guarding a door whereby some dear brother bondman might escape his galling chains. I deeply regret  
20 the necessity that impels me to suppress any thing of importance connected with my experience in slavery. It would afford me great pleasure indeed, as well as materially add to the interest of my narrative, were I at liberty to gratify a curiosity, which I know exists in the minds of many, by an accurate statement of all the facts pertaining to my most fortunate escape. But I must deprive myself of this pleasure, and the curious of the gratification which  
25 such a statement would afford. I would allow myself to suffer under the greatest imputations which evil-minded men might suggest, rather than exculpate myself, and thereby run the hazard of closing the slightest avenue by which a brother slave might clear himself of the chains and fetters of slavery.

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I have never approved of the very public manner in which some of our western friends have conducted what they call the underground railroad, but which, I think, by their open declarations, has been made most emphatically the upperground railroad. I honor those good men and women for their noble daring, and applaud them for willingly subjecting themselves to bloody persecution, by openly avowing their participation in the escape of slaves. I, however, can see very little good resulting from such a course, either to themselves or the slaves escaping; while, upon the other hand, I see and feel assured that those open declarations are a positive evil to the slaves remaining, who are seeking to escape. They do nothing towards enlightening the slave, whilst they do much towards enlightening the master. They stimulate him to greater watchfulness, and enhance his power to capture his slave. We owe something to the slaves south of the line as well as to those north of it; and in aiding the latter on their way to freedom, we should be careful to do nothing which would be likely to hinder the former from escaping from slavery. I would keep the merciless slaveholder profoundly ignorant of the means of flight adopted by the slave. I would leave him to imagine himself surrounded by myriads of invisible tormentors, ever ready to snatch from his infernal grasp his trembling prey. Let him be left to feel his way in the dark; let darkness commensurate with his crime hover over him; and let him feel that at every step he takes, in pursuit of the flying bondman, he is running the frightful risk of having his hot brains dashed out by an invisible agency. Let us render the tyrant no aid; let us not hold the light by which he can trace the footprints of our flying brother. But enough of this. I will now proceed to the statement of those facts, connected with my escape, for which I am alone responsible, and for which no one can be made to suffer but myself....

Things went on without very smoothly indeed, but within there was trouble. It is impossible for me to describe my feelings as the time of my contemplated start drew near. I had a number of warm-hearted friends in Baltimore, — friends that I loved almost as I did my life, — and the thought of being separated from them forever was painful beyond expression. It is my opinion that thousands would escape from slavery, who now remain, but for the strong cords of affection that bind them to their friends. The thought of leaving my friends was decidedly the most painful thought with which I had to contend. The love of them was

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my tender point, and shook my decision more than all things else. Besides the pain of separation, the dread and apprehension of a failure exceeded what I had experienced at my first attempt. The appalling defeat I then sustained returned to torment me. I felt assured that, if I failed in this attempt, my case would be a hopeless one—it would seal my fate as  
5 a slave forever. I could not hope to get off with any thing less than the severest punishment, and being placed beyond the means of escape. It required no very vivid imagination to depict the most frightful scenes through which I should have to pass, in case I failed. The wretchedness of slavery, and the blessedness of freedom, were perpetually before me. It was life and death with me. But I remained firm, and, according to my resolution, on the  
10 third day of September, 1838, I left my chains, and succeeded in reaching New York without the slightest interruption of any kind. How I did so, - what means I adopted, -what direction I travelled, and by what mode of conveyance, — I must leave unexplained, for the reasons before mentioned.

I have been frequently asked how I felt when I found myself in a free State. I have never  
15 been able to answer the question with any satisfaction to myself. It was a moment of the highest excitement I ever experienced. I suppose I felt as one may imagine the un armed mariner to feel when he is rescued by a friendly man-of-war from the pursuit of a pirate. In writing to a dear friend, immediately after my arrival at New York, I said I felt like one who had escaped a den of hungry lions. This state of mind, however, very soon subsided ;  
20 and I was again seized with a feeling of great insecurity and loneliness. I was yet liable to be taken back, and subjected to all the tortures of slavery. This in itself was enough to damp the ardor of my enthusiasm. But the loneliness overcame me. There I was in the midst of thousands, and yet a perfect stranger; without home and without friends, in the midst of thousands of my own brethren —children of a common Father, and yet I dared not to un-  
25 fold to any one of them my sad condition. I was afraid to speak to any one for fear of speaking to the wrong one, and thereby falling into the hands of money-loving kidnappers, whose business it was to lie in wait for the panting fugitive, as the ferocious beasts of the forest lie in wait for their prey. The motto which I adopted when I started from slavery was this—“Trust no man!” I saw in every white man an enemy, and in almost every colored

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man cause for distrust. It was a most painful situation; and, to understand it, one must needs experience it, or imagine himself in similar circumstances. Let him be a fugitive slave in a strange land—a land given up to be the hunting-ground for slaveholders – whose inhabitants are legalized kidnappers – where he is every moment subjected to the terrible liability of being seized upon by his fellow men, as the hideous crocodile seizes upon his prey! I say, let him place himself in my situation—without home or friends— without money or credit –wanting shelter, and no one to give it—wanting bread, and no money to buy it, -and at the same time let him feel that he is pursued by merciless men-hunters, and in total darkness as to what to do, where to go, or where to stay, -perfectly helpless both as to the means of defence and means of escape, -in the midst of plenty, yet suffering the terrible gnawings of hunger, — in the midst of houses, yet having no home, —among fellow-men, yet feeling as if in the midst of wild beasts, whose greediness to swallow up the trembling and half-famished fugitive is only equalled by that with which the monsters of the deep swallow up the helpless fish upon which they subsist, —I say, let him be placed in this most trying situation, —the situation in which I was placed, -then, and not till then, will he fully appreciate the hardships of, and know how to sympathize with, the toil-worn and whip-scarred fugitive slave.

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

# Speech at Peoria

SPEECH EXCERPT

October 16, 1854

Lawn of the Peoria County Courthouse | Peoria, Illinois

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On the Kansas-Nebraska Act

## BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln responded to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its principal proponent, Stephen A. Douglas, with this address at Peoria.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Is Lincoln in favor or against self-governance?
2. In what way can the right of self-governance be abused according to Lincoln?
3. What principles does Lincoln take to be more essential than the right to self-governance?
4. What are the results of the violation of the Missouri Compromise both in the north and in the south?
5. How does Lincoln think the founders viewed slavery?

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Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at Peoria, Illinois" (1854) in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953) pp. 248–283.



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...The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the propriety of its restoration, constitute the subject of what I am about to say....

I trust I understand, and truly estimate the right of self-government. My faith in the proposition that each man should do precisely as he pleases with all which is exclusively his own, lies at the foundation of the sense of justice there is in me. I extend the principles to communities of men, as well as to individuals. I so extend it, because it is politically wise, as well as naturally just; politically wise, in saving us from broils about matters which do not concern us. Here, or at Washington, I would not trouble myself with the oyster laws of Virginia, or the cranberry laws of Indiana.

10 The doctrine of self-government is right—absolutely and eternally right—but it has no just application, as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such just application depends upon whether a negro is *not* or *is* a man. If he is *not* a man, why in that case, he who *is* a man may, as a matter of self-government, do just as he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent, a total destruction of self-government, to say that he too shall not govern *himself*? When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself, and also governs *another* man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. If the negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that “all men are created equal;” and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man’s making a slave of another....

20 What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man, without that other’s consent. I say this is the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says:

25 “We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

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I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed. Now the relation of masters and slaves is, *pro tanto*, a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent; but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only is self-government....

This same generation of men, and mostly the same individuals of the generation, who declared this principle—who declared independence—who fought the war of the revolution through—who afterwards made the constitution under which we still live—these same men passed the ordinance of '87, declaring that slavery should never go to the north-west territory. I have no doubt Judge Douglas thinks they were very inconsistent in this. It is a question of discrimination between them and him. But there is not an inch of ground left for his claiming that their opinions—their example—their authority—are on his side in this controversy....

I have done with this mighty argument, of self-government. Go, sacred thing! Go in peace....

The Missouri Compromise ought to be restored. For the sake of the Union, it ought to be restored. We ought to elect a House of Representatives which will vote its restoration. If by any means, we omit to do this, what follows? Slavery may or may not be established in Nebraska. But whether it be or not, we shall have repudiated—discarded from the councils of the Nation—the spirit of compromise; for who after this will ever trust in a national compromise? The spirit of mutual concession—that spirit which first gave us the constitution, and which has thrice saved the Union—we shall have strangled and cast from us forever. And what shall we have in lieu of it? The South flushed with triumph and tempted to excesses; the North, betrayed, as they believe, brooding on wrong and burning for revenge. One side will provoke; the other resent. The one will taunt, the other defy; one agrees, the

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other retaliates. Already a few in the North, defy all constitutional restraints, resist the execution of the fugitive slave law, and even menace the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.

5 Already a few in the South, claim the constitutional right to take to and hold slaves in the free states—demand the revival of the slave trade; and demand a treaty with Great Britain by which fugitive slaves may be reclaimed from Canada. As yet they are but few on either side. It is a grave question for the lovers of the Union, whether the final destruction of the Missouri Compromise, and with it the spirit of all compromise will or will not embolden and embitter each of these, and fatally increase the numbers of both....

10 I particularly object to the new position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I object to it because it assumes that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a few people—a sad evidence that, feeling prosperity we forget right—that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere. I object to it because the fathers of the republic eschewed,  
15 and rejected it. The argument of “Necessity” was the only argument they ever admitted in favor of slavery; and so far, and so far only as it carried them, did they ever go. They found the institution existing among us, which they could not help; and they cast blame upon the British King for having permitted its introduction. Before the constitution, they prohibited its introduction into the north-western Territory—the only country we owned, then free  
20 from it. At the framing and adoption of the constitution, they forbore to so much as mention the word “slave” or “slavery” in the whole instrument. In the provision for the recovery of fugitives, the slave is spoken of as a “person held to service or labor.” In that prohibiting the abolition of the African slave trade for twenty years, that trade is spoken of as “The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing, shall think  
25 proper to admit,” etc. These are the only provisions alluding to slavery. Thus, the thing is hid away, in the constitution, just as an afflicted man hides away a wen or a cancer, which he dares not cut out at once, lest he bleed to death; with the promise, nevertheless, that the cutting may begin at the end of a given time. Less than this our fathers could not do; and now they would not do. Necessity drove them so far, and farther, they would not go. But

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this is not all. The earliest Congress, under the constitution, took the same view of slavery. They hedged and hemmed it in to the narrowest limits of necessity.

In 1794, they prohibited an out-going slave-trade—that is, the taking of slaves from the United States to sell.

- 5 In 1798, they prohibited the bringing of slaves from Africa, into the Mississippi Territory—this territory then comprising what are now the States of Mississippi and Alabama. This was ten years before they had the authority to do the same thing as to the States existing at the adoption of the constitution.

- 10 In 1800 they prohibited American citizens from trading in slaves between foreign countries—as, for instance, from Africa to Brazil.

In 1803 they passed a law in aid of one or two State laws, in restraint of the internal slave trade.

- 15 In 1807, in apparent hot haste, they passed the law, nearly a year in advance, to take effect the first day of 1808—the very first day the constitution would permit—prohibiting the African slave trade by heavy pecuniary and corporal penalties.

In 1820, finding these provisions ineffectual, they declared the trade piracy, and annexed to it, the extreme penalty of death. While all this was passing in the general government, five or six of the original slave States had adopted systems of gradual emancipation; and by which the institution was rapidly becoming extinct within these limits.

- 20 Thus we see, the plain unmistakable spirit of that age, towards slavery, was hostility to the principle, and toleration, only by necessity....

Our republican robe is soiled, and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white, in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of “moral right,” back upon its existing legal rights, and its arguments of “necessity.”

- 25 Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it; and there let it rest in peace. Let us re-

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adopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it, the practices, and policy, which harmonize with it. Let north and south—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union; but we shall have so saved it, as to make, and to keep it, forever worthy of the saving.

- 5 We shall have so saved it, that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up, and call us blessed, to the latest generations....

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)**

# To the Illinois Republican Party Convention

SPEECH EXCERPTS

June 16, 1858

House of Representatives Chamber at the Illinois State Capitol | Springfield, Illinois

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A House Divided

## BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech upon his nomination by the Illinois Republican Party to be its candidate for U.S. Senate in Illinois.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. To what, in particular, is Lincoln referring when he quotes the Gospel of Matthew, "A house divided against itself cannot stand"?
2. What are the three "working points" of "machinery" resulting from *Dred Scott* and Stephen Douglas's policy, and why does Lincoln think they are constitutionally problematic?

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Abraham Lincoln, "A House Divided: Speech at Springfield, Illinois," June 16, 1858, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 461–66.

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Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it.

We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object, and  
5 *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, *not ceased*, but has *constantly augmented*.

In *my* opinion, it *will* not cease, until a *crisis* shall have been reached, and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

10 I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.

I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved*—I do not expect the house to *fall*— but I *do* expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become *all* one thing, or *all* the other.

15 Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its *advocates* will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in *all* the States, *old* as well as *new*—*North* as well as *South*....

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas' "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery, in its *present* state of advancement. This was  
20 the third point gained.

The *working* points of that machinery are:

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First, that no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave can ever be a *citizen* of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

5 This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of this provision of the United States Constitution, which declares that—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Secondly, that "subject to the Constitution of the United States," neither *Congress* nor a *Territorial Legislature* can exclude slavery from any United States territory.

10 This point is made in order that individual men may *fill up* the territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of *permanency* to the institution through all the future.

15 Thirdly, that whether the holding a negro in actual slavery in a free State, makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave State the negro may be forced into by the master.

20 This point is made, not to be pressed *immediately*; but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently *endorsed* by the people at an election, *then* to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other *one*, or one *thousand* slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free State.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to *educate* and *mold* public opinion, at least *Northern* public opinion, not to *care* whether slavery is voted *down* or voted *up*.

This shows exactly where we now are; and *partially* also, whither we are tending....



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We can not absolutely *know* that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see  
5 they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few—not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we can see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in—in *such* a case, we find it impossible to not *believe* that Stephen and Franklin  
10 and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common *plan* or *draft* drawn up before the first lick was struck....

**PRESIDENT-ELECT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)****On the Constitution and Union**

UNPUBLISHED WRITING FRAGMENT

January 1861

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**BACKGROUND**

Abraham Lincoln scrawled these words on the relationship between the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, potentially as part of his drafts for his First Inaugural Address, though they were not used in the final speech nor in any other public comments.

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All this is not the result of accident. It has a philosophical cause. Without the Constitution and the Union, we could not have attained the result; but even these, are not the primary cause of our great prosperity. There is something back of these, entwining itself more closely about the human heart. That something, is the principle of "Liberty to all"—the principle that clears the path for all—gives hope to all—and, by consequence, enterprise, and industry to all.

The expression of that principle, in our Declaration of Independence, was most happy, and fortunate. Without this, as well as with it, we could have declared our independence of Great Britain; but without it, we could not, I think, have secured our free government, and consequent prosperity. No oppressed, people will fight, and endure, as our fathers did, without the promise of something better, than a mere change of masters.

The assertion of that principle, at that time, was the word, "fitly spoken" which has proved an "apple of gold" to us. The Union, and the Constitution, are the picture of silver, subsequently framed around it. The picture was made, not to conceal, or destroy the apple; but

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Abraham Lincoln, "Fragment on the Constitution and the Union," January 1861, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 4, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 168-69.

On the Constitution and Union  
Abraham Lincoln

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to adorn, and preserve it. The picture was made for the apple—not the apple for the picture.

So let us act, that neither picture, or apple shall ever be blurred, or bruised or broken.

That we may so act, we must study, and understand the points of danger.

**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)**  
**First Inaugural Address**

SPEECH EXCERPTS

March 4, 1861  
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

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**BACKGROUND**

Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech at his inauguration amidst declarations of secession by southern states.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. How does Lincoln try to assuage the fears of Southerners?
2. Why does Lincoln believe that the Union is perpetual?
3. What is "the only substantial dispute," and what are its possible resolutions as Lincoln sees them?

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Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address—Final Text," March 4, 1861, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 4, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 262–71.

Fellow citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

I do not consider it necessary, at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety, or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this, and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves, and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

*"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."*

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I now reiterate these sentiments: and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section, as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

10 "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

15 It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would

20 make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law, by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be

25 surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that his oath shall go unkept, on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to *how* it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case,

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surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?"

5 I take the official oath today, with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws, by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest, that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to, and abide by, all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having  
10 them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens, have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it  
15 through many perils; and, generally, with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

20 I hold, that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper, ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to de-  
25 stroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade, by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does  
30 it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

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Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was  
5 further matured and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution, was "*to form a more perfect union.*"

10 But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out  
15 of the Union,—that *resolves* and *ordinances* to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken;  
20 and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but  
25 only as the declared purpose of the Union that it *will* constitutionally defend, and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me, will be used to hold,  
30 occupy, and possess the property, and places belonging to the government, and to collect



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the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion— no using of force against, or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and so universal, as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable with all, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

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The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events, and experience, shall show a modification, or change, to be proper; and in every case and exigency, my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections....

15

One section of our country believes slavery is *right*, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong*, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.

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The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases *after* the separation of the sections, than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all, by the other.

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Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous, or more satisfactory, *after* separation than *before*? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens, than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it, or their *revolutionary* right to dismember, or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy, and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it....

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well*, upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied, hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

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In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend it."

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I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

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**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)**

# A Proclamation

AN ORDER

January 1, 1863  
Executive Mansion | Washington, D.C.

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## Emancipation Proclamation

### BACKGROUND

On September 22, 1862 after the Union victory in the Battle of Antietam, Abraham Lincoln announced this order concerning property in slaves in the rebelling states, which took effect January 1, 1863.

### GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Whom did the proclamation free?
2. In which places did this order apply?
3. By what authority did Lincoln issue this order?
4. What military purpose did the order serve?
5. What did Lincoln implore of slaves freed by the order?

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Abraham Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation," January 1, 1863, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 6, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 28–30.

The Emancipation Proclamation  
Abraham Lincoln

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By the President of the United States of America: A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein

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the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. Johns, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth-City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth); and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

30

The Emancipation Proclamation  
Abraham Lincoln

**ANNOTATIONS**

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In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

*By the President:*

10 Abraham Lincoln

William H. Seward, *Secretary of State*.

**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)**

# On the Consecration of the Soldiers' National Cemetery

SPEECH

November 19, 1863

Soldiers' National Cemetery | Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

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Gettysburg Address

## BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln delivered these remarks at the dedication of the Union cemetery for those soldiers killed in the Battle of Gettysburg in the summer of 1863.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. For Lincoln, what is the central idea of the American Founding?
2. For what cause did the soldiers buried in Gettysburg give their lives?
3. What were they fighting to defend?
4. To what cause does Lincoln wish for listeners to dedicate themselves?

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Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address," November 19, 1863, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 7, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 23.



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Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.

5 We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far  
10 above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—  
15 that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)**  
**Second Inaugural Address**

SPEECH

March 4, 1865  
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

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**BACKGROUND**

Having been reelected and with the end of the Civil War in sight, Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech at his inauguration to a second term as president.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. According to Lincoln, who caused the Civil War?
2. What role in the war does Lincoln ascribe to God?
3. How does Lincoln think the North should treat the South when the war ends?

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Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," March 4, 1865, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 8, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 332–33.

Fellow Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of

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- other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one
- 5 of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this
- 10 mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."
- 15 With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

**U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES**

# Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution

AMENDMENT

December 18, 1865  
United States of America

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## BACKGROUND

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Thirteen Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by December 6, 1865, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State William Seward on December 18, 1865.

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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The House Joint Resolution proposing the 13th amendment to the Constitution, January 31, 1865; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

**U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES****Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution**

AMENDMENT

July 28, 1868  
United States of America

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**BACKGROUND**

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by July 21, 1868, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State William Seward on July 28, 1868.

**ANNOTATIONS****NOTES & QUESTIONS**

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property,  
5 without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive  
10 and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of

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The House Joint Resolution proposing the 14th amendment to the Constitution, June 16, 1866; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

5 Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

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Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

15

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

## U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES

# Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution

AMENDMENT

March 30, 1870  
United States of America

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### BACKGROUND

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by February 3, 1870, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish on March 30, 1870.

### ANNOTATIONS

### NOTES & QUESTIONS

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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The House Joint Resolution proposing the 15th amendment to the Constitution, December 7, 1868; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.



**E.D. ESTILLETTE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF POLICE**

# To the Police of Recently Emancipated Negroes

**ORDINANCE**

July 3, 1865  
Opelousas, Louisiana

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## **BACKGROUND**

As slavery was outlawed and African Americans were freed in southern states, many communities created new laws and regulations to infringe upon the newfound freedom of former slaves. This is one example of such a “black code” from a town in Louisiana in the first months after the Civil War.

## **ANNOTATIONS**

## **NOTES & QUESTIONS**

[RELATIV]E TO THE POLICE OF RECENTLY [EM]ANCIPATED NEGROES OR FREED[M]EN, WITHIN THE CORPORATE LIMITS OF THE TOWN OF OPELOUSAS.

Whereas the relations formerly subsis[ti]ng between master and slave have b[e]come changed by the action of the controlling authorities; and whereas it i[s] necessary to provide  
5 for the proper police and government of the recently emancipated negroes or freedmen, in their new relations to the municipal authorities;

Sect. 1. Be it therefore ordained by [t]he Board of Police of the Town of Ope[l]ousas: That no negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, without special permission from his employer, specifying the object of his visit, and the  
10 time necessary for the accomplishment of the same. Whoever shall violate this provision, shall suffer imprisonment and two days work on the public streets, or shall pay a fine of two dollars and fifty cents.

Sect. 2. Be it further ordained that every negro or freedman who shall be found on the streets of Opelousas, after 10 o'clock at night, without a written pass or permit from his

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Steven Hahn, ed. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Ser. 3, Vol. 1, Land and Labor, 1865* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 237-39.

employer, shall be imprisoned and compelled to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars.

Sect. 3. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town under any circumstances, and any one thus offending, shall be ejected and  
5 compelled to find an employer, or leave the town within twenty-four hours. The lessor or furnisher of the house leased or kept as above, shall pay a fine of ten dollars for each offense.

Sect. 4. No negro or freedman shall reside within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, who is not in the regular service of some white person or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said freedman. But said employer or former owner may permit  
10 said freedman to hire his time, by special permission in writing, which permission shall not extend over twenty-four hours at any one time. Any one violating the provisions of this section, shall be imprisoned and forced to work for two days on the public streets.

Sect. 5. No public meetings or congregations of negroes or freedmen, shall be allowed within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, under any circumstances or for any purpose,  
15 without the permission of the Mayor or President of the Board. This prohibition is not intended, however, to prevent freedmen from attending the usual Church services conducted by established ministers of religion. Every freedman violating this law shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets.

Sect. 6. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to preach, exhort or otherwise declaim,  
20 to congregations of colored people, without a special permission from the Mayor or President of the Board of Police, under the penalty of a fine of ten dollars or twenty days work on the public streets.

Sect. 7. No freedman, who is not in the military service, shall be allowed to carry fire-arms or any kind of weapons, within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, without the special  
25 permission of his employer in writing, and approved by the Mayor or President of the Board of Police. Any one thus offending shall forfeit his weapons and shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars in lieu of said work.

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Sect. 8. No freedman shall sell, barter or exchange any articles of merchandise or traffic, within the limits of Opelousas, without permission in writing from his employer or the Mayor or President of the Board, under the penalty of the forfeiture of said articles, and imprisonment and one day's labor, or a fine of one dollar in lieu of said work.

- 5 Sect. 9. Any freedman found drunk within the limits of the town shall be imprisoned and made to labor five days on the public streets, or pay five dollars in lieu of said labor.

Sect. 10. Any freedman not residing in Opelousas, who shall be found within its corporate limits after the hour of 3 o'clock P.M. on Sunday, without a special written permission from his employer or the Mayor, shall be arrested and imprisoned and made to work two days  
10 on the public streets, or pay two dollars in lieu of said work.

Sect. 11. All the foregoing provisions apply to freed men and freed women, or both sexes.

Sect. 12. It shall be the special duty of the Mayor or President of the Board, to see that all the provisions of this ordinance are faithfully executed.

Sect. 13. Be it further ordained, Th[at] this ordinance to take effect from [and] after its first  
15 publication.

Ordained the 3d day of July, 186[5.],

E. D. ESTILLETT[E]

President of the Board of Po[lice.]

JOS. D. RICHARD, Clerk.

